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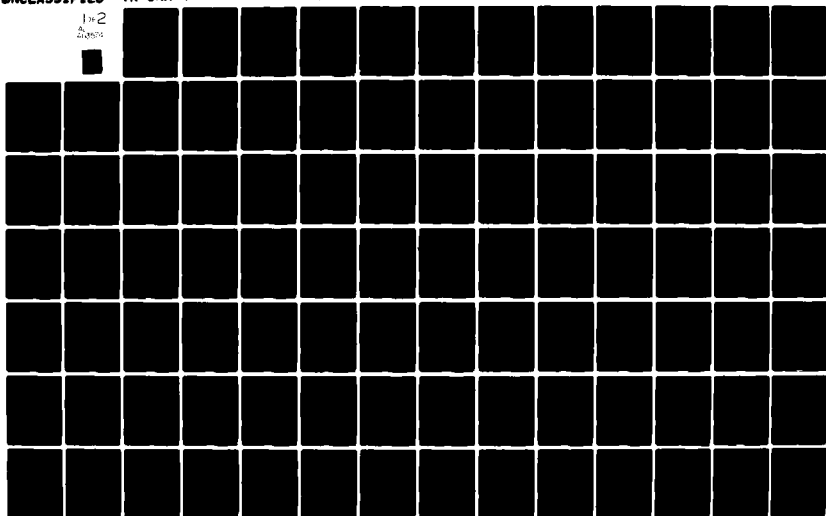
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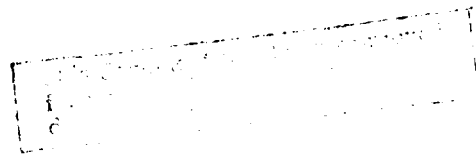
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Socialization in  
Work Organizations

C. D. Fisher & J. A. Weekley

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socialization, and agents of socialization. Throughout the report, existing literature is critically evaluated and specific hypotheses for further research are suggested. In the concluding section, a summary model of important variables and processes relating to socialization is presented, together with some general prescriptions for future research on model elements.

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A

## ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION

As goal-oriented entities, organizations seek to influence, determine, and/or control the behavior of their members in directions consistent with their particular objectives. To this end, new organization members must be taught to behave in an appropriate manner. Socialization is the process by which new members are "broken in" or "learn the ropes" (Schein, 1968) in the organization. The outcomes of this process can vary from outright rebellion to creative change of the organization by the new member to rigid conformity, from satisfaction and commitment to disillusionment and turnover. Clearly, socialization is important, yet as numerous reviewers have noted, the research on organizational socialization has been fragmentary, largely non-empirical, and much less productive than one might have hoped (Mortimer and Simmons, 1969; Van Maanen, 1976).

The following paper is a review of much of the literature on organizational socialization and related areas. The first section consists of a brief description of what socialization is and is not. The next major section focuses on the "content" of socialization, including both "what is learned" during socialization and "outcomes" of socialization. The last major section focuses on the "process" of socialization, and includes segments on stage models of socialization, anticipatory socialization, and in-role socialization. Finally, conclusions and research needs are discussed. Hypotheses in need of testing are suggested through out the review.

### Definitions and Distinctions

Several definitions of socialization appear in Table 1. As Feldman (1981) has pointed out, there are many such definitions. Some focus primarily on the learning of values and attitudes which are central to the work place, while others emphasize the learning of group norms and the establishment of

social relationships with work group members. Surprisingly, learning how to do the job, including both technical knowledge and skill, is omitted or minimized in some definitions. Since we are referring to socialization in work organizations, rather than in society as a whole, clearly learning the job or task must be a central component. The definition of socialization which will be used in this paper is similar to that recently proposed by Feldman (1981). Socialization is the process by which a new role holder learns to perform in his or her role, and learns about the larger context in which the role is embedded (work group, organization). Socialization includes the learning of group and organizational values, frames of reference, and assumptions; the learning norms and development of social relationships within the group and organization; and the development of the skills and knowledge needed to perform the role as specified by the organization.

As Van Maanen and Schein (1979) point out, socialization occurs whenever an individual changes roles or "crosses a boundary" in the organization. The most noticeable socialization usually occurs with the transition from non-member to organization member, but some socialization also takes place when individuals are transferred or promoted. Further, the need for additional socialization may arise even when the individual stays in the same role and location, if significant changes in the environment occur. Examples would be learning to adjust to a new boss or a shift in the organization's goals or mission.

Before continuing, several important distinctions must be made. First, Van Maanen (1976) speaks of organizational socialization as being different from "occupational socialization." Whereas the latter refers to the inculcation of occupational values and skills which may generalize across organizational settings in which the occupation may be practiced, and may be

TABLE 1

## Definitions of Socialization

---

"The process by which a new member learns and adapts to the value system, the norms, and the required behavior patterns of an organization, society, or group" (Schein, 1968, p.1)

"The process of being indoctrinated and trained, the process of being taught what is important in the organization or some subunit there of" (Schein, 1968, p.2)

"For the group, socialization is a mechanism through which new members learn the values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, and the interpersonal and other skills that facilitate role performance and further group goals. From the perspective of the individual, socialization is a process of learning to participate in social [and organizational] life." (Mortimer and Simmons, 1979, p.422)

"The process by which an organization member learns the required behaviors and supportive attitudes necessary to participate as a member of an organization." (Van Maanen, 1975, p.207)

"...organizational socialization is the process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role. (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979, p.211)

"The process by which employees are transformed from organizational outsiders to participating and effective members." (Feldman, 1976)

---

regarded as socialization to one's "profession", the former focuses on the learning of organization specific modes of behaving and thinking. The two may occur concurrently, as in the case of the newcomer without specific vocational preparation who enters an organization's training program, or sequentially, where professional or vocational training takes place in formal settings such as schools or apprenticeship programs prior to membership in a particular work organization. Occupational socialization, when it occurs before organizational socialization, probably affects how readily newcomers accept organizational values and practices. As an example, there has been a great deal of research on how prior professional socialization in nursing, engineering, and basic science affect individuals' adoption of the largely bureaucratic values of the organizations in which they find themselves after graduation (Alutto, Hrebiniak, and Alonso, 1971; Kramer, 1968; Miller and Wager, 1971; Perrucci, 1977). In this review, the literature on occupational socialization will be cited only where such prior socialization would be expected to affect the progress of organizational socialization, or where the findings concerning occupational socialization are thought to be generalizable to the organizational process.

Second, a number of authors have distinguished between socialization and "resocialization". For Mortimer and Simmons (1978) socialization refers to the learning of new roles which are at least somewhat consistent with past roles, while resocialization represents attempts to dramatically reorient the deviant, as in rehabilitative prisons or mental hospitals. On the other hand, some organizational socialization is just as dramatic. In particular, socialization to the military through the mechanism of boot camp comes close to Mortimer and Simmons' (1978) definition of "resocialization". Boot camp is a "total institution" in which almost every moment and activity in the recruit's

life is controlled by the organization. Further, the experience begins with "divestiture" processes (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) in which the recruit's old identity is stripped away and labeled irrelevant. Totally new values and identities are then substituted (Dornbush, 1955; Wamsley, 1972).

In a different use of the terms, Katz (1978) argues that socialization occurs under conditions of initial entry into the organization whereas resocialization results when one is promoted or transferred. In this usage, "resocialization" seems to mean minor modifications of previously learned role behaviors and values. When organizational socialization is characterized as a career-long, continuous process (Van Maanen, 1976; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), this distinction, particularly as drawn by Katz (1978), may prove unnecessary.

Third, Mortimer and Lorence (1979) and others (Gross, 1975; Berk and Goertzel, 1975) have noted the disparate amount of attention given the "selection versus socialization" hypotheses. That is, while many have studied the selection hypothesis--that individuals choose an occupation or an organization on the basis of already formed psychological characteristics--relatively less attention has been given the socialization hypothesis--that occupations and organizations mold individuals' personal characteristics after entry. Both hypotheses have been employed in explaining the similarity (with respect to attitudes, values, behaviors, etc.) between occupants of similar organizational roles. The position taken in this review is that these two hypotheses are not really in competition with one another, in the sense that support for one necessarily implies rejection of the other. Instead, both may be highly interdependent and much of what is considered selection by the individual may also be viewed from the perspective of "anticipatory socialization."

Fourth, some mention should be made of the socialization-individualization issue (Porter, Lawler, and Hackman, 1975). Socialization is not a

one-way process, with all change occurring in the newcomer. The targets of organizational socialization efforts may also be trying to change the organization or modify the role demands made on them in order to induce a better "fit" between themselves and their new job (Graen, 1976). As Schein (1968) notes, the organization usually wields more influence than the new employee, but nevertheless, both processes do occur. According to Van Maanen and Schein (1979), noticeable individualization is more likely to occur after initial socialization, when the organization member has become trusted and accepted and so gains more freedom to deviate from the strict "organization line" (see Hollander, 1958 for supporting research).

Finally, it has been noted that organizational socialization may best be viewed as a subset of the more general realm of adult socialization (Van Maanen, 1976; Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). Such a perspective serves to focus attention "upon the individual's adjustment to role demands as a way of characterizing socialization through the life-cycle" (Van Maanen, 1976, p. 69). As Mortimer and Simmons (1978) have noted, the increased interest in adult socialization has engendered a widespread questioning of the earlier view that major socialization experiences occur only in childhood. Recognition of the life-span nature of socialization necessarily directs one to consider the crucial role of work and, more specifically, the organization in which work takes place. Henry (1971, p. 126) has argued that work must be viewed not as a means only of earning a living but "as a lifestyle, as the central and most binding continuity of the years between age 20 and 70." Thus, the socialization which occurs within work organizations is undeniably an important area for the study and understanding of adult behavior.

## CONTENT OF SOCIALIZATION

### What Is Learned

Socialization is primarily a learning process for the newcomer. Therefore, one relevant question to ask is "what is learned?". A number of authors have briefly touched on this issue (see Table 2). In looking at this literature, three primary categories of learning content appear. These are 1) organizational values, goals, culture, and so on, 2) work group values, norms, and friendships, and 3) how to do the job, needed skills and knowledge. However, before this kind of content is learned, some preliminary learning may be necessary.

### Need to Learn, What to Learn, Who to Learn From

The first task of the socializing organization or agent may be to convince the newcomer that learning on his or her part is necessary. When extensive vocational preparation has occurred prior to hire, newcomers may be confident that they already know everything they need to know. Agents may use "upending" or humiliating experiences to demonstrate to newcomers that additional learning is necessary (Schein, 1968). Once the need for change and learning has been accepted, socialization can proceed more quickly.

One of the first tasks of organization newcomers is to learn what to learn. It may not be immediately obvious what the role is to be, and what kinds of knowledge and skill one must acquire in order to perform in that role. This task may be particularly difficult if there is no formal orientation or training program. However, even with such programs, novices often report that only some of what is taught is really relevant, so they must learn what parts of their training to take seriously (Marshall, 1972; Van Maanen, 1975).

TABLE 2

## Content of Socialization

---

"The development of work skills and abilities, the acquisition of appropriate role behaviors, the adjustment to the work group and its norms, the learning of organizational values." (Feldman, 1980, p.11)

1) Skills and technical knowledge, 2) attitudes, values, and a shared history (Dornbush, 1955)

Learning to participate in 1) instrumental and 2) expressive communication networks (Etzioni, 1975)

1) Learning the role, 2) learning "a more general appreciation of the organization's culture." (Louis, 1980a, p.231)

1) Technical skills, 2) tricks of the trade, 3) social skills, 4) new self-image, 5) new involvements, 6) new values. (Gross, 1975)

---

One must also learn who to learn from. Graen (1976, p. 1221) notes that an early task of the new employee is to "identify the set of participants who have a vested interest in his role behavior." Learning about the organization, work group, and job can proceed more quickly after the newcomer has identified his or her role set--learned who to attend to for cues regarding proper behavior on the job--assuming that these individuals are willing to aid the newcomer. In some situations, the learner must actively seek out a teacher, and convince that individual to help him or her learn the job. For example, Graves (1972) describes the process of becoming a skilled pipeline worker. First, the unskilled worker must prove him or her self by being dependable and participating in the informal horseplay of the work group in the appropriate manner. This may eventually result in being "adopted" by a skilled worker and taught the trade. A similar process occurs among high steel iron workers. Journeymen dispense relatively little advice and instruction to apprentices, and then only to those who have learned to interact with them properly (Haas, 1972). Following early learning of this sort, the newcomer can begin serious learning in the following broad categories.

#### Learning about the Organization

There are many simple facts about an employing organization which the newcomer must learn. For instance, one must learn about rules, reporting relationships, benefits, pay systems, and similar obvious organizationwide characteristics. In addition, there may be less overt aspects of the organization's climate which must also be absorbed. For example, an organization may be "conservative," "cut-throat," or "innovative" in a way that pervades all or most of its operations. Louis (1980a, p.231) suggests that socialization consists of not only learning the work role, but also

learning "a more general appreciation of the culture of the organization." This may include what Jay (1980) has called organizational "religions" -- organization-wide assumptions which may not be questioned by employees, and Clark (1972) has called the organizational "saga" -- shared belief about a historical event in the organization's past which makes it unique and special today.

There is also evidence that individuals learn and may eventually adopt the organization's goals. Hall, Schneider, and Nygren (1970) call this process "identification", and report that for a sample of Forest Service employees, "...organizational and personal goals increase in congruence ... at least through the first 15 years of service" (p. 186). Whatever the label, these are the things which newcomers must learn about and accept at the organizational level.

#### Learning About the Work Group

At the level of the immediate work group, there is much to be learned. As a start, learning the names, job titles, and personalities of one's coworkers is necessary. Etzioni (1975) has suggested that socialization consists of learning to participate in two kinds of communication networks: 1) instrumental (task-related), and 2) expressive (social, value-oriented). The expressive network probably operates largely at the work group level. Peers are important agents of socialization in most settings, as they communicate informal expectations and ways of doing things..."It is through informal systems that a new secretary knows how long a coffee break she may take, a college professor knows what unofficial restrictions there may be on what he wears to class, and any new employee learns when company rules may be bent ... which attitudes and emotions are to be displayed on which occasions, and, even, which are the proper values to hold" (Thornton and Nardi, 1975, p. 878).

The impact of work group norms on methods and amount of production has been extensively documented (e.g. Roethlisberger and Dickinson, 1943).

### Learning to do the Job

Learning to perform the required work tasks is obviously a critical part of socialization, as failure to learn the task may result in expulsion from the organization. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) describe three aspects of learning a work role: 1) the knowledge base of a role (including skills), 2) the strategic base, which tells when and how to use knowledge, and 3) the mission, or purpose of the role, and how it fits into the larger purpose of the organization. Gross (1975) differentiates between learning the technical skills of the job (by the book), and learning informal "tricks of the trade". The latter are "devices to save persons from their own mistakes...that save time, save energy, or prevent a person's being hurt." (Gross, 1975, p. 141). These tricks are either learned by experience, or passed on by more seasoned incumbents.

Weick (1979) says that for experienced role incumbents, relatively little thinking is necessary since they have "schemata," or beliefs about how and why things happen and what are appropriate responses. Louis (1980a) and Brett and Werbel (1980) also discuss thought-saving scripts or "routines" under which most normal behavior is conducted. For the newcomer, old routines and schemata fit the new situation incompletely or not at all, so that learning how to do a new job may be seen at least partly as a matter of rebuilding or revising schemata. On a routine job requiring few skills, this may easily be accomplished. In a more complex job, months or years may be necessary before the incumbent has learned enough to react automatically to any situation which may arise.

### Conclusion

Much of all three types of learning tasks discussed above could be described simply as learning to "take the role of others" (Brim, 1966). Socialization consists of learning to predict how relevant others in the situation will evaluate and react to any particular behavior. Graen (1976) refers to this process as constructing "mental replicas" of others. When the replicas are accurately constructed, then one should be able to guide one's behavior so as to avoid displeasing role senders within the larger organization and the work group.

### Personal Learning

Yet another kind of learning probably also occurs in socialization. It is not a necessary or intended outcome, and has not been extensively discussed in the literature, but nevertheless may occur as a result of the individual learning about and reacting to the organization (Gross, 1975). This is learning more about one's self. Both Kotter (1973) and Louis (1980a) mention the idea of latent or emergent expectations. These are expectations or desires of which one is not initially aware. "Often a new employee out of college isn't consciously aware of what he wants and needs, or what he is capable and prepared to give" (Kotter, 1973, p. 94). Experience with organizational reality, as well as cues from co-workers (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978) may result in a changed understanding of one's own needs and desires. Brim (1968) notes that socialization may result in changed "levels of aspiration" as career goals are modified to fit organizational reality.

Another "personal learning" content of the socialization process may be a change in one's identity. Ziller (1964, p. 342) states that, "since identity is established, in part, in terms of the social field as a frame of reference, a changed social field necessitates a re-examination of identity." Certainly

a new job in a different organization constitutes a "changed social field." Hall (1968, 1971) has shown that the career portion of one's identity becomes "larger" or "more central" as a result of successfully meeting challenging goals in one's chosen occupation. He has not discussed the fact that career sub-identity growth usually occurs within an employing organization. It seems likely that the career sub-identity probably contains content like "I am a competent IBM engineer" instead of just "I am a competent engineer."

#### Content-Related Variables

There are many aspects of content other than "type" which was discussed above. Several other aspects of content will be explored here.

Order of Learning Given three (or more) types of content, one might ask when or in what order they are learned. While these types of learning content are conceptually distinct, they may be difficult to separate in practice, since task skills are often taught by agents who also have an interest in transmitting particular group or organizational norms and values. A newcomer may be taught how to operate a machine by a co-worker who is also conveying information about the speed at which the group believes machines should be operated, and the social consequences of becoming a "rate buster." In this case, two types of content are being transmitted simultaneously. Alternate procedures are to transmit attitudinal/value types of content first, and only reveal technical secrets once the recruit has adopted the correct value system (Stoddard, 1972), or to concentrate exclusively on skill building and knowledge acquisition first, and allow values to change later. Several authors have noted the occurrence of this latter process. Having acquired new skills and invested a great deal of time and effort in learning relevant knowledge often often leads to changed attitudes and values, in particular to greater commitment to the job or occupation so laboriously learned (Becker and Carper, 1956; Simpson, 1967).

Even where all types of learning are occurring simultaneously, they may not proceed at the same rate. For instance, Feldman (1977) reported that a group of hospital employees felt accepted by their work group after an average of 2.7 months, but did not feel competent at their task until after about 6 months had passed.

Importance The relative importance of various types of content probably varies from job to job. Brim (1968) has suggested that work group social content is the most important in unskilled jobs, while organizational, group, and task content are all important in "higher level" (more complex, skilled) jobs. An obvious exception would be where the new incumbent in the higher level job has already had substantial training and/or experience and so requires little task-related learning. Group and organizational content may be relatively unimportant if lateral changes in position are made within the same work group or organization, so that many aspects of norms, values, or "climate" remain the same.

Schein (1968) has suggested classifying work norms according to how important it is to comply with them. Pivotal norms are absolutely necessary to obey, and tend to concern the performance of basic job duties within the organization's rules. Compliance with relevant norms concerning desired behavior is not necessary to remain a member of the organization, but may facilitate acceptance by peers. Relevant norms may include such things as "dress and decorum, not being publically disloyal to the company,...belonging to the right political party..." (Schein, 1968, p.9). Learning in any of the three types of content areas may be of either a pivotal or merely relevant nature.

Attitudes or Behavior Learning in all three content areas may pertain to either attitudes/values/beliefs, or to overt behavior. The effect of

socialization on both attitudes and behavior has been well documented. Both may be influenced at the same time, as when cub reporters (Sigelman, 1973) learn and accept the paper's editorial policies (values) and also learn how they must comply with them in reporting the news (behavior).

Numerous authors have researched attitude and value changes as a result of occupational and organizational socialization. For instance, Adler and Shuval (1978) have documented changes in medical students' values with regard to people, status, and science as they go through six years of formal occupational training. Sylvia and Pindur (1978) found differences in attitudes toward Buddhism and karate between students of different karate schools. Within schools, values were quite homogeneous and similar to those of the instructor. Weiss (1977, 1978) found that subordinates tended to adopt the supervisory style and work values of their immediate superior.

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of attitude learning as a function of organizational role incumbency was reported by Lieberman (1956). Production workers who were promoted to foreman became significantly more positive toward management. Two years later, those who were still foremen had maintained their positive attitudes, while those demoted to their previous positions due to economic conditions had reverted to their original less positive attitudes. Clearly experience in an organization can result in learning values and attitudes. A further description of the process by which this occurs will be presented later.

Schein (1968) has stated that norms usually regulate overt behavior, and may leave privately held attitudes unspecified. Certainly behavior is more visible than attitudes, and is thus more likely to provoke influence attempts from co-workers. An example of norm learning is given by Riemer (1977). He describes the behavior of first through fifth year electrician apprentices in

the areas of using the "best" brand of tools, wearing overalls, and using jargon. He concludes that compliance with occupational norms in these areas "increases in a linear fashion" through the five years of the program (p. 96).

Legitimacy The organization's ability to legitimately demand learning and change is not equal for all content. Schein and Ott (1962) conducted a survey to determine the perceived legitimacy of organizational influence on various areas of employees' work and private lives. They concluded, "High legitimacy items all concern behavior at the workplace or attitudes toward work and the company. The low legitimacy items concern family relationships, matters of taste in non-job-related areas, place of residence, political and religious views, and the like" (p. 684). Several areas were perceived as legitimate by about half the sample, and not legitimate by the other half. These high conflict items concern 1) "general moral fiber" (drinking and sexual behavior off-the job, willingness to be competitive and play politics on-the job), 2) participation in company-sponsored or endorsed events which is not required by the job, and 3) "behavior which pertains to the subordinate's presentation of himself to others in his role as a member of the organization" (p. 687).

Attempts by the organization to socialize newcomers in non-legitimate or questionable areas of their behavior and attitudes may be unsuccessful, and may drive away potentially good performers. Unacceptable influence attempts probably occur fairly often, since managers (usually agents of socialization) endorsed more areas of organizational influence than did students, who in turn endorsed more than labor leaders, in Schein and Ott's (1962) sample.

Depth of Learning One final variable concerns the extent or depth to which content is learned and internalized. If an individual will be performing his or her role under close supervision, or within a work group

which can appropriately cue, reinforce, or punish behavior, then the role need not be particularly well learned. A less thorough job of socialization can be tolerated by the organization, and attitude/value change may be relatively unimportant (Cogswell, 1968). However, if the individual will be performing the role primarily among "outsiders" then greater learning and internalization of the role is necessary to insure consistently proper role behavior.

Doctors, for instance, spend most of their time with patients rather than with other doctors. Therefore, they need a strongly internalized set of medical ethics, procedures, and behaviors to guide them (Cogswell, 1968). Jay (1980, p.64) says "In industry, it is the sales force whose need is greatest. They go out on their own amongst the heathen, they are the corporate missionaries. Other members of the corporation see only each other - it is easy to be a good Catholic in the Vatican."

#### Summary and Hypotheses

Altogether, five types of learning content have been discussed. First, preliminary learning (that learning is needed, what to learn, who to learn from) is necessary, followed by learning about three major content areas: 1) the organization, 2) the immediate work group, and 3) the job itself. An unintended fifth area of learning is learning about one's self as a result of contact with a new environment. A caveat is necessary at this point, least the reader conclude that the newcomer, busy learning all types of content, is the passive recipient of a role which is cast in concrete prior to his or her arrival. Graen (1976) notes that organizational roles are usually "incompletely defined". There is room for new incumbents to negotiate the details of their role with their superior and other role senders. Finally, there may be some aspects of the role about which no guidance from either group or organizational sources is available. Individuals are free to do what

they please without consulting or negotiating with anyone in these discretionary areas of role behavior.

Returning to the three major types of learning content, we have seen that they can vary across jobs on two dimensions: 1) relative importance of each type, and 2) order of learning the three types. Within types of content, a particular norm, expectation, or value can vary as to whether it applies to a privately held attitude or an overt behavior, its perceived legitimacy as an area for organizational or work group influence, the depth of internalization required, and the importance of complying with or accepting it. These characteristics probably affect the ease of learning socialization content.

For instance, the following hypotheses seem reasonable:

Hypothesis 1 Norms, expectations, required behaviors, etc. which are perceived by the newcomer as pivotal are more likely to be learned (and learned sooner) than those perceived to be non-pivotal.

Hypothesis 2 Norms, expectations, required behaviors, etc. which are perceived by the newcomer as legitimate areas for organizational and work group influence are more likely to be learned (and learned sooner) than those perceived to be non-legitimate.

Hypothesis 3 Norms, expectations, etc. regarding overt behavior at work are more likely to be learned (and learned sooner) than those which apply to privately held attitudes.

Hypothesis 4 When a role must be internalized thoroughly and performed without supervision, perceived legitimacy is particularly critical for the maintenance of appropriate role behavior.

### Outcomes

The outcomes of the socialization process are occasionally mentioned, but seldom discussed in depth, and only rarely investigated. Defining outcomes is a critical need. How can one evaluate the "effectiveness" of various socialization programs or models without criteria? (A list of criteria mentioned by past researchers appears in Table 3.)

On the other hand, the phrase "outcome variables" implies that there exists some final end state of "being socialized". It should be remembered that socialization is constantly occurring, to one degree or another, throughout one's life. However, newcomers do become insiders and achieve satisfactory levels of adjustment to their jobs. At this point, socialization to that job may be substantially complete.

One approach to defining the outcomes of socialization is to state that when individuals have learned the content presented in the "what is learned" section, they are socialized. Thus, learning who to learn from, how to get along with both the immediate work group and the larger organization, how to exercise the skills needed for role performance, and having adopted attitudes and a self image consistent with the new role constitutes being socialized. A further cognitive outcome is the revision of routines or schemata, such that the thoroughly socialized newcomer develops a "readiness to select certain events for attention over others, a stylized stance toward one's routine activities, some ideas as to how one's various behavioral responses to recurrent situations are viewed by others, and so forth" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

Another approach might be to look at the many stage models of socialization which have been developed. Feldman (1976) suggests that one is completely socialized after proceeding through all the stages. Thus, looking at what

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TABLE 3  
Outcomes of Socialization  
Mentioned in Previous Research

Development of Routines or Schemata  
Role Conflict  
Role Ambiguity  
General Job Satisfaction  
Satisfaction with Job Facets  
Internal Work Motivation  
Job Involvement  
Personal Control  
Job Tension  
Commitment to the Organization  
Internalized Values  
Innovation and Cooperation Beyond Role Demands  
Tenure  
Role Performance  
Mutual Influence

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occurs at the final stage may shed some light on the outcomes of socialization. An examination of the details of stage models and the evidence for and against their existence will be presented later. In the present section, we will focus only on the final stages of the more common models.

An idea embodied by many stage models is that at the end of socialization, the individual knows what the organization expects, the organization knows what the individual expects, and a workable compromise between the two sets of desires has been negotiated. "Resolution of conflicting demands" both within the work environment and between work and non-work areas appears in Feldman's (1976) discussion of outcomes. Phrases such as "role management" (Feldman, 1976), "adaptation" (Louis, 1980a), and "integrating the new role into one's total constellation of roles" (Cogswell, 1967) express this idea. Kotter (1973) says it more directly - that the number of "matches" in expectations in the "psychological contract" between employee and employer should be much higher after successful socialization. Brief, Aldag, Van Sell, and Melone (1979) suggested that role conflict and ambiguity should decrease with experience in the organization, as the individual becomes more socialized, but their study did not test this directly.

Feldman (1981) has laid out three possible affective outcomes of socialization: general job satisfaction, internal work motivation, and job involvement. Toffler (1981) measured satisfaction with six job facets, as well as general job satisfaction. In another article, Feldman (1980, p. 19) suggests that "socialization involves an increase in perceived personal control by recruits." As they learn more about the work environment, they become better able to predict and manipulate their surroundings, and feel less at the mercy of incomprehensible and random events. Reduced job tension and anxiety should also occur when socialization is largely completed (Toffler,

1981; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). Other authors have suggested that loyalty and commitment to the organization are outcomes of socialization (Alpert, Atkins, and Ziller, 1979; Dubin, 1976; Edstrom and Galbraith, 1977).

A further outcome may be internalizing the values of the profession, organization, and/or immediate work group (Hall, Schneider, and Nygren, 1970; Simpson, 1967), or, as Stoddard (1972) puts it, having one's membership group (the group one officially belong to) become one's reference group. Presumably this includes learning the norms and expected behaviors in the membership group, then learning to value membership in the group, complying with norms to attain acceptance, and finally embracing the group's orientation as one's own.

Socialization produces behavioral as well as attitudinal outcomes. Three behavioral outcomes discussed by Feldman (1981) are spontaneous innovation and cooperation beyond role demands, staying with the organization, and proper role performance. Of course, "proper role performance" may be defined differently by different groups or agents of socialization within the same organization. Still other indicators of socialization may be observed in relationships with peers. According to Feldman (1976), "mutual influence" or being able to affect what goes on in the group is an outcome of socialization. Louis puts it well: "Newcomers become insiders when and as they are given broad responsibilities and autonomy, entrusted with 'privileged' information, included in informal networks, and sought out for advice and counsel by others" (1980, p. 231).

The above outcomes make the process of socializing newcomers sound very beneficial for both the newcomer (now satisfied, committed, unstressed, and influential) and for the organization (which is able to count on reliable performance and long tenure). However, some writers have suggested that too much socialization can be dysfunctional for all parties. Several typologies of

reactions to socialization have been described. Schein (1968) states that responses may range from rebellion - complete rejection of all organizational values, norms, and required behaviors - to conformity, in which even peripheral norms are carefully obeyed. Neither end of this continuum is considered to be functional. Rebellion leads to the termination of employment, and conformity precludes creativity, "thereby moving the organization toward a sterile form of bureaucracy" (Schein, 1968, p. 10). Van Maanen and Schein (1979) describe conformity as taking a "custodial" view of one's role - performing and passing it on completely untouched by innovation. Organizations are portrayed as desiring this kind of response, since it renders organizational participants completely predictable. That eventual stagnation and failure to adapt may be a result is seldom considered by organizations.

Demands for conformity may be equally damaging to the individual: "From the individual's perspective, one may call it a case in which the operation was a success because the patient died - death being the extinction of all other values, principles, or interests which are not in the service of the organization" (Lewicki, 1980, p. 90). Graen (1976) says that individuals who are very disillusioned with their new organization because of inappropriate socialization may withdraw psychologically and become "visitors" rather than members of the organization - present in body but not in soul. Schein and Ott (1962) note that organizations may expect individuals to display the "correct temperament" on the job - but state that temperament cannot be voluntarily changed! Thus, "the probable outcome is suppression of all feeling and the adoption of a safe but sterile facade" (p. 686). Thornton and Nardi (1975, p. 881) go right to the point, "Incongruence of self and role often results in perfunctory role enactment and in problems of social and psychological adjustment."

Zurcher (1972) cites Goffman's (1961) work on adjustment to mental asylums and applies it to organizations. Goffman has described four points on a continuum of adjustment to a new setting: situational withdrawal, intransigence, colonization, and conversion. In work organizations, situational withdrawal includes the reactions in the preceding paragraph - minimizing one's psychological involvement with the organization. Intransigence is analogous to Schein's (1968) "rebellion", purposefully doing the opposite of what the organization wants. Zurcher (1972) notes that the intransigent does learn a lot about the organization and its norms and expectations, if only for the purpose of flouting them. Colonization is "finding a home" in the organization. Security and conformity are emphasized. Conversion goes one step further - the newcomer zealously adopts any and all norms, attitudes, values, and behaviors desired by the organization. He or she vigorously models everyone in sight, and becomes completely submerged in the organizational identity.

Schein (1968) makes the questionable statement that there is one best way to respond to socialization pressure. This is "creative individualism" or "role innovation" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). This response consists of adopting the pivotal norms, but not necessarily conforming to any other norms. This type of position is difficult to maintain, because of the continuing pressure for more complete conformity by the organization. Individuals who attempt to be creative individualists in organizations may not experience all the outcomes mentioned previously. For instance, they probably do not experience decreased role stress or increased commitment to the organization.

The above views suggest that the goal of socialization is always to produce homogeneity and stifle individual initiative. Such a view is too one-sided to be accurate. Feldman (1980, p. 18) states that organizations seldom

desire complete conformity, but rather desire "a shifting of values to within a range of acceptability, [not] conformity to a specific point of view. The socialization process works to cut off extreme values rather than to enforce compliance with well articulated positions." Even greater freedom might exist when an organization or institution has strong norms for creativity and diversity! Schein (1968) describes his socialization as a faculty member at the Sloan school. Norms there stated that one could take any approach to teaching that one liked, as long as it was original - copying was not permitted.

There is some data which suggest that occasionally socialization can produce heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. Alutto, Hrebiniak, and Alonso (1971) found greater variance in authoritarianism and professional and organizational commitment among senior nursing students in four year training programs than among senior students in two-year training programs, despite the fact that the former had obviously been exposed to a much longer occupational socialization experience. Shuval and Adler (1977) discovered that value consensus among medical students decreased during their six year training program. They suggest that this occurs because students receive conflicting information and expectations from a variety of role senders both inside and outside the profession. Students are free to pick and choose which bits of information to accept as they construct their own picture of the physician role. This interpretation is consistent with the writing of Coser (1975), who states that complex role sets (containing many and varied members) create an opportunity for autonomy and individualism since it is impossible to comply with all received role expectations. Thus, one might expect greater heterogeneity among individuals socialized by complex role sets, and homogeneity to be the outcome when socialization is conducted by a single agent, or a set of very similar agents. Clearly, homogeneity and blind conformity need not always be outcomes of the socialization process.

### Conclusion

Many outcomes of socialization have been suggested in the literature. They include both personal and organization outcomes, and both highly visible changes in behavior and less visible changes in attitudes, schemata, or values. Outcomes may be beneficial for the individual, the organization, both, or neither. Much of the writing on outcomes has been non-data based, so little is known about how and when levels of outcome variables actually change during socialization. Even less is known about how different strategies or programs of socialization affect outcomes, though Van Maanen and Schein (1979) have proposed many testable hypotheses in this area.

A great deal of research on outcomes is needed. First, relevant outcome categories must be identified, then research can proceed to find socialization-related predictors of those outcomes. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches will be helpful in identifying the outcomes of socialization. For instance, measures of the outcomes suggested above could be obtained from newcomers and factor analyzed to see if "factors of adjustment" can be located. An alternate procedure would be to cluster people according to mode or extent of adjustment, and then interview some in each class very intensively. A purely qualitative approach would be to ask both newcomers and experienced incumbents to describe what it means to be "fully adjusted," or how an experienced worker differs from a raw recruit. Research of this type may reveal entire categories of outcomes which have been overlooked to date since there are no convenient measures available. The reader may have noticed that the list of empirically studied outcomes of socialization includes the same tired old dependent variables typically studied by organizational behaviorists, and easily measured by time-tested instruments.

It is unlikely that the same set of outcomes will be appropriate to all socialization settings. Once a "master-list" of potential outcomes is developed, we can proceed to find out which are particularly critical in different types of jobs (i.e., identification/conversion and innovation are probably unimportant for routine, closely supervised jobs), and what types of socialization experiences impact most on each outcome.

## PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

Now that the content of socialization has been discussed, we will turn to how learning takes place. First, stages of socialization will be discussed, and then a more detailed discussion of the process of socialization prior to and after entry into the organization will be presented.

### Stage Models

Numerous writers on socialization have proposed "stage models" which supposedly describe the various stages involved in moving from naive outsider to fully socialized insider. The stage models developed by different authors are quite similar. This convergence may indicate that they are all describing the same reality, or that the theorists have just built on each other's work without regard for data-based reality. Considering the dearth of research on stage models, the latter seems at least equally likely. In this section, a "basic," composite stage model will be described and possible additional stages discussed, followed by a research review and critique of stage models. A list of several stage models appears in Table 4. For each model, the author, group to which it applies, and stages are listed.

Stage One: Most stage models label the first stage "anticipatory socialization" (Brief, Aldag, Van Sell, and Melone, 1979; Feldman, 1976, 1981; Louis, 1980a; Thornton and Nardi, 1975), which concerns the "degree to which an individual is prepared--prior to entry--to occupy organizational positions" (Van Maanen, 1976, p. 81). Thus, this stage encompasses such topics as occupational choice, organizational selection, and the effects of pre-entry socialization on assimilation into an organizational role. For Feldman (1976), the main activities at this stage are the formation of expectations about jobs and the making of employment decisions such that two variables indicate progression through socialization: (a) realism--the extent to which

TABLE 4  
Stage Models of Socialization

<u>Author</u>	<u>Application</u>		
	All Organizational Socialization		
<u>Feldman, 1981</u>			
<u>Anticipatory</u>	<u>Encounter</u>	<u>Change and Acquisition</u>	
Realism About Organization	Initiation to Task	Resolution of Role Demands	
Realism About Job	Initiation to Group	Task Mastery	
Congruence of Skills and Abilities	Role Definition	Adjustment to Group Norms and Values	
Congruence of Needs and Values	Management of Outside-Life Conflicts		
	Management of Intergroup Role Conflicts		
<hr/>			
<u>Graen, 1976</u>	All Organizational Socialization		
<u>Initial Confrontation</u>	<u>Working Through</u>	<u>Integrating</u>	
<hr/>			
<u>Van Maanen, 1976</u>	All Organizational Socialization		
<u>Organizational Choice and Anticipatory Socialization</u>	<u>Entry-Encounter</u>	<u>Continuance-Metamorphosis</u>	
<hr/>			
<u>Mortimer and Simmons, 1978</u>	Adult Socialization		
<u>Anticipatory</u>	<u>In-Role</u>	<u>Disengagement</u>	

TABLE 4 (continued)

Thornton and Nardi, 1975		Adult Socialization	
<u>Anticipatory</u>	<u>Formal</u>	<u>Informal</u>	<u>Personal</u>
Simpson, 1967			
Nursing Student Socialization			
<u>Relinquish "Lay Conceptions"</u>	<u>Shift to Nurses and Doctors as Reference Group</u>	<u>Internalize Occupational Values</u>	
Bourne, 1967			
Army Recruits in Basic Training			
<u>Environmental Shock</u>	<u>Engagement</u>	<u>Attainment</u>	<u>Termination</u>
Alpert, Atkins, and Ziller, 1979			
Judge Socialization			
<u>Law Profession Socialization</u>	<u>Initiation and Resolution</u>	<u>Establishment</u>	<u>Commitment</u>
Cogswell, 1968			
Paraplegics			
<u>Abandon Previous Role</u>	<u>Identify with New Role</u>	<u>Overemphasize New Role</u>	<u>Integrate New Role with Other Roles</u>

the recruit's expectations of organizational life have become full and accurate, and (b) congruence--the extent to which the individual has selected an organization in which his or her needs will be met by the organization's resources. Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975) similarly stress the comprehensiveness and accuracy of individual desires and expectations developed prior to organizational entry, noting that where these are effectively matched with organizational reality, the transition from nonmember to member is simplified. A more detailed discussion of processes and effects of anticipatory socialization will appear later.

Stage Two. Referred to as "accommodation" (Feldman, 1976), "encounter" (Porter, et al., 1975), "initial confrontation" (Graen, 1976), or "adjustment" (Brief, Aldag, Van Sell, and Melone, 1979), this stage is concerned primarily with the individual's initial encounter with the organization and is generally considered the most crucial for effective socialization (Van Maanen, 1976). It is during this stage that the newcomer begins the role-making process. As such, the neophyte must begin to master the tasks of the new job and define, both formally and informally, his or her interpersonal relationships with respect to co-workers and supervisors (Feldman, 1976; Buchanan, 1974). Also during this stage, expectations are confirmed or disconfirmed, ambiguity and conflict are encountered, reinforcement contingencies are discovered, and self and organizational evaluations of performance are compared (Feldman, 1976; Buchanan, 1974; Porter, et al., 1975).

In this early stage of experience in the new role, the most likely response to socialization pressure is blind obedience and conformity. The newcomer's primary goal is to learn the rules of the game and become an acceptable player. Attempts at changing the rules are probably reserved for after stage three. This view is consistent with Thornton and Nardi's (1975)

final stage--the "personal" stage in which the incumbent actively modifies the role and the expectations of role senders in order to express his or her own personality and style.

Stage Three. The final stage, referred to as "role management" (Feldman, 1976), "change and acquisition" (Porter, et. al., 1975), "mutual acceptance" (Schein, 1978), "adaptation" (Louis, 1980a), or "metamorphosis" (Van Maanen, 1976), is concerned with the processes involved in becoming a fully accepted member of the organization, no longer identified as a "rookie," and learning how things "really work" on the inside. Thus, the incumbent must learn to handle conflicts both within and external to the organization (Feldman, 1976), establish an identity perceived as important by both him or her self and the organization (Buchanan, 1974; Porter, et al., 1975), and settle into new attitudes, values, and behaviors that are consistent with prevailing norms regarding loyalty, commitment, and performance (Buchanan, 1974). Finally, Schein (1978) notes that the transition from newcomer to insider may be accompanied by a number of signals, such as a promotion or pay increase, the sharing of secrets, or other initiation rites which serve to communicate acceptance.

Additions to Stage Models Several authors have suggested other stages or processes which could be added to the "basic" model. For example, there may be a stage immediately following role entry in which the newcomer is forced or encouraged to give up values and behaviors associated with previous roles. Louis (1980) has criticized most stage models for neglecting this process of "changing from" the old role and focusing entirely on "changing to" the new role.

Zurcher (1972) and Bourne (1967) describe "role dispossessing" in military boot camp. The individual's "presenting culture" is stripped away in

order to create a readiness to accept the values of the socializing institution. This is accomplished by removing reminders of one's past life and status such as personal clothing, hair style, and contact with non-military personnel, and substituting rigid institutional control of most waking activities.

Cogswell (1967) also describes a role abandonment stage in the adjustment of paraplegics to their condition. It takes several weeks or months to give up the role and self-image of a healthy person and replace it with the role of permanently handicapped. The "sick" role, implying eventual recovery, may serve as a "bridge" leading to acceptance of the handicapped role. Real progress in learning to cope does not proceed until the new role is accepted (Cogswell, 1967).

In organizational socialization, the problem of leaving behind valued previous roles may usually be minor. Individuals typically have some choice about which organizational roles they assume, in accepting one job over another, or choosing to accept or refuse a transfer or promotion. Since the new role is usually preferred, giving up the old role should be relatively easy. Exceptions might include demotions, involuntary transfers, or entering a less desirable job after being fired or laid off from a previous job. In these cases, socialization may be slowed as the individual deals with the issue of giving up the earlier role.

A second unique addition to stage models also comes from Cogswell's (1967) work with paraplegics. She notes that once the role is accepted, a stage occurs in which the new role is overemphasized, to the exclusion of other concurrently held roles. "More attention, and often more time, is given to the role than will be necessary once the role is mastered" (Cogswell, 1967, p. 20). A similar phenomenon may occur in organizations, with newcomers

putting in very long hours. This may often be helpful, and speed socialization. However, Brett and Werbel (1980) have observed that individuals transferred to new jobs may over-emphasize the work role, at the expense of spouse and parent roles, just when the family needs them most.

If a newcomer is observed "overemphasizing" the work role, one might ask whether it is by individual choice or organizational constraint. In some cases, the organization intentionally burdens newcomers with excessive work loads. This may be done as a means of building up quick "investments" of time and effort with the firm, making it harder to justify leaving (Hrebiniak and Alutto, 1973; Sheldon, 1971), a way of separating the newcomer from old roles and activities by monopolizing time, or a way of humbling and "unfreezing" (Schein, 1968) the newcomer so that learning new behaviors and values becomes easier.

#### Research on Stage Models

There have been very few direct attempts to test stage models, or to map newcomer socialization over time. Most stage models are "arm chair" theorizing, or the result of participant/observation studies. Examples of the latter include Dornbush's (1955) work on socialization in military academies, Simpson's (1967) observations of nursing students, and Van Maanen's (1975) first-hand experience with police recruits. Such studies are valuable for providing insight and suggestions, but their accuracy and generalizability can be questioned.

The major problem with stage models is not with the distinction between an anticipatory stage and a stage within the organization. Clearly, the notion of anticipatory socialization makes a great deal of sense. Learning in this stage is quite different from learning once in the organization, as

sources of information are different, personal experience is lacking, and the motivation of agents is different.

Rather, the problem with stage models is their insistence on dividing up the in-organization period into many phases. Certainly there is a time when the new incumbent engages in rapid and extensive learning, and hopefully attains a later state of being comfortably adjusted. However, whether the former period is consistently divided into observably distinct sub-stages like encounter and change (Feldman, 1976) or introduction, encounter, and metamorphosis (Van Maanen, 1975) is questionable.

Although the models remain largely untested, some peripherally relevant research can be located. The results of this research are mixed with regard to the validity of stage models. Supporting and nonsupporting research will be discussed in turn below.

Research Supporting Stage Models Graen, Orris, and Johnson (1973) provide some of the strongest evidence in support of stages of socialization within the organization. They tracked the self-reported activities of new clerical employees over the first 16 weeks on a new job. During that time, "assimilation behaviors" such as learning the amount of work required, becoming accepted, and going to others for help decreased steadily. So did "routine behaviors" associated with getting started on the task. However, behaviors aimed at dealing with conflict increased steadily. This is consistent with most models, especially Feldman's (1976, 1981) in which conflict resolution does not occur in the encounter stage, but becomes an issue in the role management stage.

Feldman's (1976) empirical work provides some additional evidence for stage models. On the basis of interview and questionnaire responses, he categorized his subjects by the extent to which they had successfully completed

the anticipatory, encounter, and role management stages of socialization. He found that job satisfaction and influence in one's group increased quite steadily from those who had not completed any stages through those who had completed all three.

Other support for stage models is less direct, and consists of evidence that the determinants of various "outcomes of socialization" vary according to how long the newcomer has been an organization member. Van Maanen (1975) reported that demographic characteristics predicted job attitudes during the first two months of recruit training, but not later. This may indicate a "stage" in which pre-membership variables continue to be active, and a second stage in which the organization predominates.

In keeping with the idea that changing predictors of outcomes may indicate movement through stages, three other studies can be cited. Buchanan (1974) suggested that the determinants of organizational commitment should change with tenure. He found some support for his idea, with "loyalty conflicts" being a predictor unique to first year employees, and others unique to two to four and to five plus year employees. On the other hand, some variables predicted at more than one tenure level.

Katz (1978) found that the job satisfaction of new employees in their first few months was positively related to only 2 of 5 job design characteristics. The satisfaction of employees with one to three years of experience was predicted by all 5 characteristics. He explains these results by speaking more or less of stages of socialization. "Apparently employees are too preoccupied with becoming an accepted, helpful, and important part of the overall setting to respond to the "richness" of their jobs along all of the various task features" (Katz, 1978, p. 721). This he called the "initial learning" stage, followed by a stage of being responsive to task characteristics, fol-

lowed eventually (at ten plus years) by a stage of being nonresponsive to task characteristics.

Toffler (1981) has recently published the most complex work on changing determinants of outcomes. She studied the effects of work performed, actual role conflict, and perceived role ambiguity and conflict on eleven outcome variables after one month and five months on the job. She found that some outcomes had the same predictors at both times, but others had systematically different predictors. For example, both satisfaction with pay and satisfaction with coworkers changed from being predicted by objective work and conflict variables after one month to being predicted by perceptual variables after five months. Toffler suggests that social comparisons become increasingly important in determining these outcomes as one's coworkers become more familiar and salient. A shift away from prediction by perceptual variables to prediction by objective variables occurred for overall job satisfaction, and satisfaction with one's career and professional growth.

Toffler speculates that socialization may have two stages, an "emotional" stage, where feelings and perceptions determine outcomes, and a "rational" stage, where objective reality is the best predictor. She does not insist that these stages occur in any particular order, and further argues that they may occur in a different order for different outcomes. Thus, at a single point in time, one could be "emotional" about satisfaction with one's career but "rational" about satisfaction with pay. These ideas must be considered extremely tentative at this point. However, the fact remains that changing determinants of outcomes may indicate some sort of progress through stages of socialization.

Research Not Supporting Stage Models Evidence contrary to stage models also exists. Brief, Aldag, Van Sell, and Melone (1979) expected the positive

correlation between length of professional training for nurses and their role conflict to weaken with experience. The effects of being socialized to value autonomy and professionalism in a four year training program were expected to wash out after organizational socialization. Certainly the stage models predict that individuals will accommodate and learn to resolve conflict eventually. However, in their sample, the relationship of length of training to role conflict was equally strong for relative newcomers and for nurses with more than two years of experience. If a conflict resolution stage occurs, it must happen only after many years of experience for nurses.

Some evidence against discrete "stages" of socialization with vastly different content may be inferred from studies which show very steady changes in attitudes and values over time. For stage models which specify that certain content is learned at a certain time, one would expect measures of that content or related outcomes to plateau after the stage is completed. This is seldom the case. For instance, Van Maanen (1975) places great emphasis on describing the content of various stages of socialization, and even the observable changes in training routine which occur concurrently (classroom, to supervised practice, to permanent assignment), yet his data show very smooth changes in motivation and commitment from one month to the next. Shuval and Adler (1977) describe medical school socialization as somewhat discontinuous, with major changes from premedical to preclinical to clinical to internship training. Thus, they expected more major value changes to occur during the year of a change in training type than during years of the same kind of training. However, they also found smooth changes in values from year to year, regardless of changes in training format. This is contrary to the stage view of socialization assuming that moving from one stage to another should be reflected by large and noticeable changes in attitudes or values.

Further evidence against distinct stages comes from some of Feldman's (1976) work. Although he proposes and then weakly tests a stage model, his data do not really support such a model. Supposedly, processes occurring at each stage of socialization affect only variables in the next stage, and do not directly affect either more distant stages or yet more distant outcomes. However, Feldman found that one of his two anticipatory socialization variables affected an outcome (three steps away), and three of his four encounter stage variables affected outcomes (two steps away). In addition, when he categorized subjects by their extent of completion of each stage, a sizeable number of people were half way through both the encounter and role management stages at the same time! If not disproof, then this is at least a major exception to the idea of sequential stages.

Another problem with stage models is the issue of time-in-stage. Louis (1980a) suggests that the encounter stage "typically" lasts six to ten months. Graen, et al., (1973) presented data showing that clerical workers began leaving the encounter stage and entering the role management stage after just a few weeks. Finally, Alpert, Atkins, and Ziller (1979) have presented a stage model of judge socialization in which each stage takes five or ten years! Given such huge variance in time, one has to wonder if the same process is being discussed, and if fixed stages make any sense at all.

#### Conclusion and Suggestions for Research

In summary, support for stage models is mixed. On the negative side, there is no evidence for distinct stages which are the same, in terms of order, duration, and content for all jobs or all people. Past theorists have erred in the direction of over generalization. For instance, they suggest that conflict resolution tends to become an issue only after a good bit of exposure to the demands of the task and role set has occurred. This is

probably generally correct, though some jobs may present conflict from the first moment of incumbency. Stage models also state that reality shock is an issue only in the early entry period. While often true, one can conceive of reality shock occurring much later in socialization. As emergent or latent expectations (Louis, 1980a) come to the surface, shock or surprise can be experienced even in a familiar organizational context. In addition, some clearly held expectations may concern things which will or will not happen after several years in the organization (i.e. promotion). When these expectations are not met, shock can result at that point. Toffler (1981) provides some evidence for this idea. She discovered that unmet expectations regarding participation in decision making were unrelated to satisfaction after one month on the job, but were related after five months. Apparently her subjects were not initially disappointed by unmet expectations for participation, but upon acquiring more experience and feeling competent to participate, their unmet expectations became salient and were associated with dissatisfaction.

Role modification, individualization of the organization, and innovation are supposed to occur only in the last stage or final state of being socialized. However, exceptions exist. New department heads shake up secretarial pools on their first day at the office--unhindered by group norms or affective relationships which may develop later during socialization. New CEO's are often brought in explicitly to make major changes--and quickly, before they are co-opted or socialized by a declining but entrenched system (Gabarro, 1979).

Obviously, cases exist where present stage models are inadequate. This is inevitable where a single fixed model is asked to describe a phenomenon which is highly variable. On the other hand, stage models do contain some

useful insights. Certainly learning must be most intense immediately after entry into the new organization, and certainly different types of content must be mastered, in some cases sequentially. Rather than building a priori models intended to apply to all socialization settings, a more reasonable approach may be to study empirically when particular types of learning take place. It may be that stages will emerge from the data. In addition, "outcomes" of socialization could be measured frequently, to see when or if the values of various outcomes change sharply or plateau, indicating perhaps that a stage has been completed. Empirical research is needed since much recent theorizing has occurred in the nearly complete absence of data! Research must be undertaken in a number of socialization settings: first job in a career, transfer within the same firm, complex and simple jobs, jobs with and without extensive anticipatory socialization, and so on. It is quite likely that different stage models will be needed to accurately describe the process in these varying settings. Figure 1 includes a sampling of what the results of such research might look like.

The amount of time spent in each activity, when each kind of learning begins, and whether some types of learning take place at all depend on the job and individuals being studied. For example, in very simple jobs, innovation may never occur, but learning to get along with the immediate work group may be critical. Where a well developed training program is in place, little "learning what to learn/who to learn from" may be necessary. In the case of transfers, very little new learning about the organization would occur. Individual differences may also affect stages passed through, and time spent in each stage. For instance, extroversion may condition the length of time spent acquiring teachers and enlisting their active cooperation. Self-esteem may influence the difficulty of teaching the neophyte that additional learning on their part is necessary.

**Figure 1**

### Suggested Content X Time Patterns of Socialization for Three Jobs

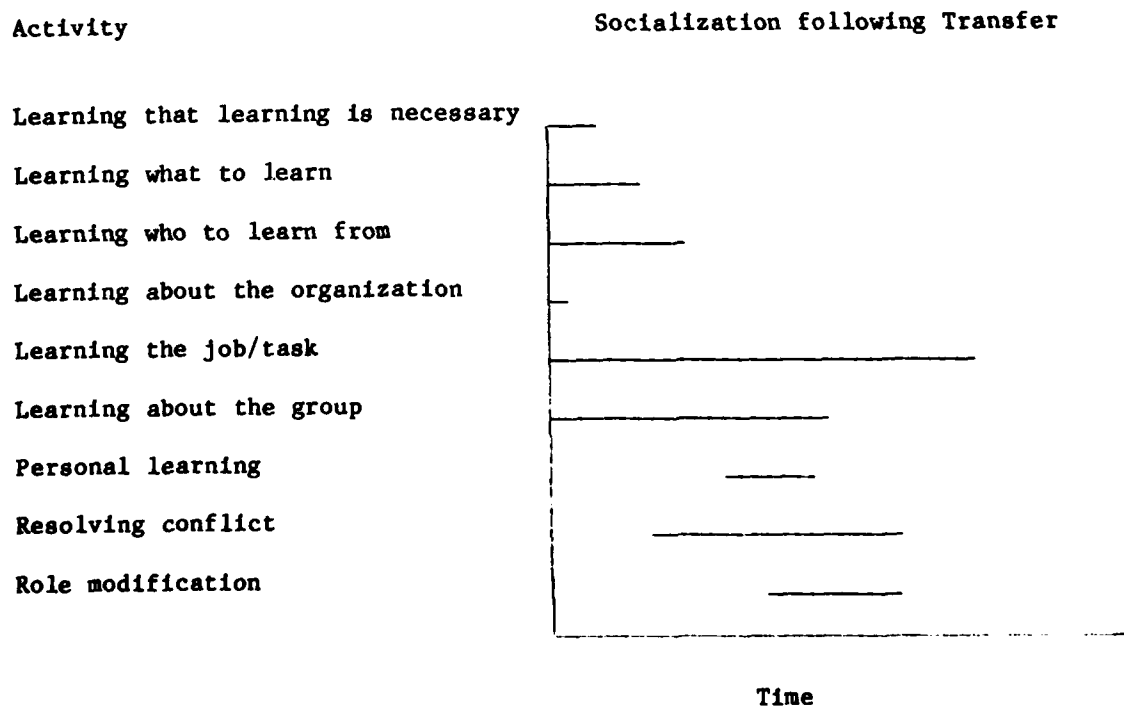
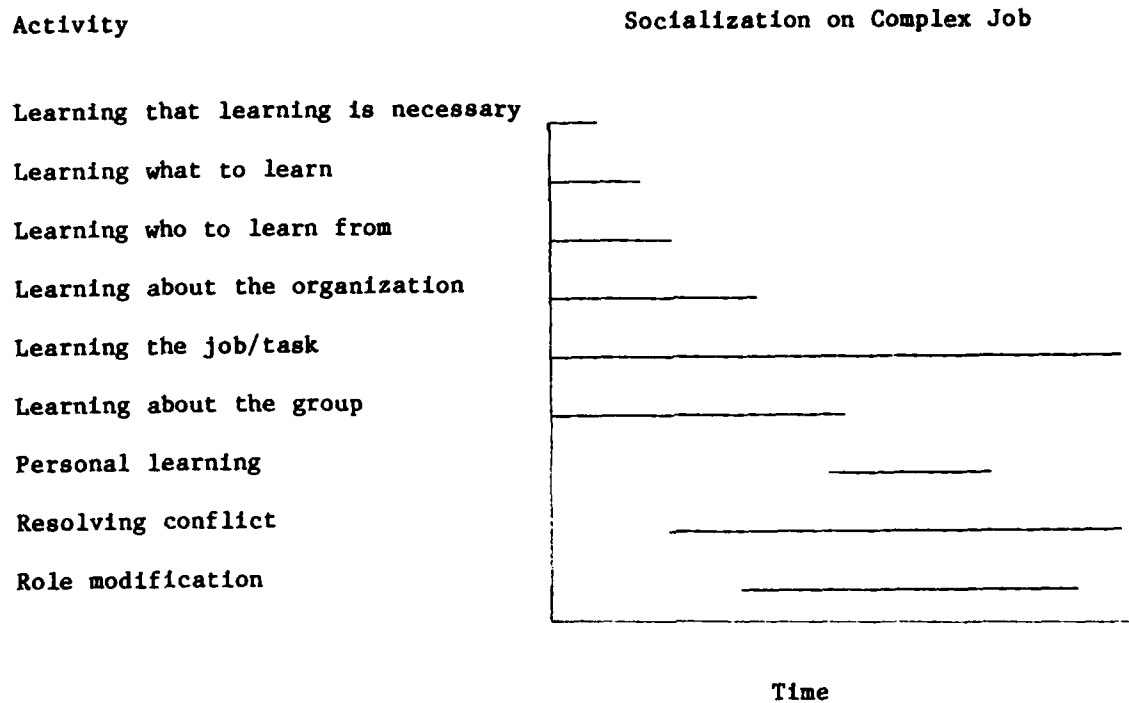
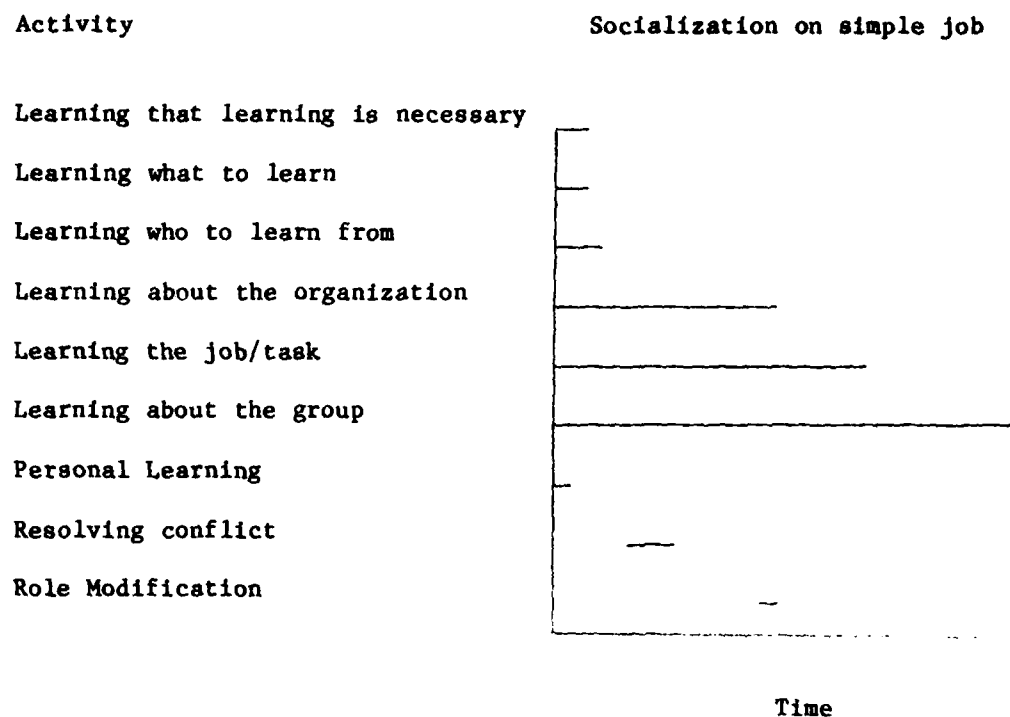


Figure 1 cont'd



Research of this type obviously requires that longitudinal, multi-measure designs be employed with a variety of samples. Analysis should not be limited to a comparison of means between variables or over time. Such aggregate analysis can mask the progress of individuals through socialization. If individuals progress through discreet stages, but all individuals do not do so at the same rate, then overall means would show a more continuous change than would be experienced by individuals in the sample. Thus, individual score patterns and subgroup mean patterns should also be investigated.

One complication should be added. When studying stages of socialization, one must not neglect to consider "stages" in the expectations of role senders. All too often the job is treated as a constant, which remains unchanged as the newcomer tries to learn it and alter him or herself to fit. Graen (1976) adds the very valid view point that the individual may modify the job through negotiation. However, even if the newcomer does not seek to change the job, it must change since the role behavior expected of newcomers is not the same as that expected of experienced insiders. Newcomers may be given simple tasks first and not held to the same time or quality standards as experienced incumbents. Gradually, more is expected. Thus, newcomers may have to perceive and respond to a series of role expectations as they become (or are expected to become) more proficient at their jobs. Stages of job change as well as stages of individual adjustment need to be studied.

#### A Stage Model

In so far as a stage model is needed to guide research, a general model is proposed below. The first stage, as in most models, is anticipatory socialization which takes place prior to formal entry into the organization. (This will be discussed in more detail in the next section). The second stage might be called "learning the newcomer role." In this stage, the

neophyte begins to learn something about the organization, work group, and his or her task, but the primary learning content is how to behave appropriately as a newcomer. This may include being deferential, admitting one's ignorance, displaying eagerness to learn, and locating a mentor or otherwise establishing relationships with agents in order to facilitate later learning. Learning the newcomer role may often be quickly and easily accomplished, if anticipatory socialization was accurate or if there is transfer from previously held newcomer roles. Occasionally a recruit may take longer to catch on. Insiders may have to use an "upending experience" to humiliate or startle the newcomer into proper role behavior (Schein, 1968).

Behaving appropriately as a neophyte "buys time" in which to learn the "insider" role which will eventually be assumed. This process may be analogous to the evolved defense of young animals--looking helpless and "cute" induces tolerance in adults of the same species. Having learned the newcomer role sufficiently to assure at least short-term survival in the organization, the individual is able to concentrate fully on learning the insider role. This period could be considered a third stage, called unpoetically, "playing the newcomer role while learning the insider role." The length of this stage depends on many things, including the complexity of the insider role, similarity to past roles held by the newcomer, availability of needed models, training, or practice, and the tolerance and expectations of other insiders. The content learned during this stage obviously varies greatly by job and organization, but undoubtedly includes the very broad categories identified earlier: organization, work group, and job/task related content. Any further specification of content or when it is learned seems unwise without additional research.

The final stage is assuming the insider role in its entirety. Passage into this stage may be marked by some sort of ceremony, receipt of a choice assignment, or the like, but in most cases it is probably a rather gradual transition without specific mile stones. This process may continue much longer than most socialization models posit. As Schein (1971) points out, not all insiders are equally inside. One form of career movement in his model is inward movement, toward greater centrality and influence, without any necessary change in job title. While movement of this sort is a logical consequence of successfully moving through the first few stages of socialization, it probably is not of much interest for the student of newcomer socialization.

### Anticipatory Socialization

Broadly defined, anticipatory socialization refers to all learning or experience that prepares, either functionally or dysfunctionally, an individual for entry into the organization (Van Maanen, 1976; Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). The importance of this stage for later socialization outcomes was succinctly noted by Schein (1968, p. 3): "If the novice has correctly anticipated the norms of the organization he is joining, then socialization merely involves a reaffirmation of these norms through various communication channels, the personal example of key people in the organization, and direct instructions from supervisors, trainers, and informal coaches" (emphasis added).

The literature on anticipatory socialization for organizational and occupational roles is a bit fragmented in terms of just what is anticipated. Many studies, particularly of organizational socialization, focus on expectations, or beliefs about what the new role will be like. These include expectations about working hours, supervision, type of work, promotion availability, and so on. Expectations are readily acquired and fairly easily modified by new information. Other studies discuss values, more basic and deeply held orientations to work in general (i.e. Protestant work ethic) or the occupation in particular (i.e. service or scientific orientations), and self-identity. These develop largely during adolescence or occupational training and are more resistant to subsequent change by organizations. However, organizations are capable of producing some value and self-identity change over time (Hall, Schneider, and Nygren, 1970; Hazer and Alvares, 1981). It may be helpful to keep these categories of variables separate although this can be confusing. (Individuals may have expectations about what values the organization supports or desires.)

Organization specific anticipatory socialization probably consists largely of the learning of expectations. The time involved is one reason--developing a preference for one organization over another, seeking and accepting a job, and starting work often happen within a few weeks or months, which is insufficient time for major value changes to occur (under normal conditions). Values may change slightly during this time, but it is more likely that pre-existing values influence organizational choice rather than the reverse. However, both expectations and values should affect adjustment once in the organization. Expectations are likely to have their strongest impact during the early period, and be relatively less important later on. Values, because of their greater stability, may continue to play a role in adjustment and socialization over the longer term.

Figure 2 presents a two way classification of individual and organization expectation and value compatibility. The dual processes of anticipatory socialization and self-selection have functioned well in the upper left box of the table. The individual has realistic expectations to facilitate short term adjustment to the organization, and a compatible value system to aid long term identification and commitment. The lower right cell is just the opposite. Presumably newcomers in this situation will leave the organization quickly or remain as extremely dissatisfied members until or unless major adjustments are made in either the individual or the work setting.

When expectations are unrealistic but values consistent, one may expect to see a rough initial employment period, followed by a satisfactory adjustment for those who remain. The opposite may occur if preemployment expectations are accurate, but later discovery of value conflicts may lead to dissatisfaction. However, a smooth entry may have resulted in enough commitment that subsequent value conflicts are tolerated or proactively resolved.

Figure 2

Newcomer values

	consistent with organization	not consistent with organization
realistic expectations		
unrealistic		

Clearly, the ideal situation would be for the applicant to correctly perceive organizations' "value climates" and then choose a compatible organization, and to develop accurate expectations about most aspects of life in the organization. The remainder of this section will consider how anticipatory socialization relates to selection, then how expectations and other pre-employment beliefs are acquired and affect subsequent adjustment.

### Selection

Anticipatory socialization interacts in an interesting way with selection. One's existing attitudes, values, beliefs, and abilities predispose one to select an organization consistent with these personal characteristics (Tom, 1971; Wanous, 1980). Organizations are also inclined to select individuals who seem to "fit." Following mutual choice, individuals typically proceed to acquire more information about the organization and future job, and further prepare themselves to enter the new role.

Evidence for the first point, that individuals tend to select organizations compatible with their values or "self image" is provided by several studies. In his analysis of two competing newspapers, Sigelman (1973) notes that reporters tended to apply for jobs with either the "liberal" or "conservative" newspaper, depending upon their own orientations. Betz and Judkins (1975), in contrasting two teachers' organizations, found that the organization which was more explicit in stating its goals and more change-oriented attracted (more than the other teachers' group) members whose attitudes differed significantly from the population of non-member teachers. Tom (1971) found that individuals looking for jobs preferred companies perceived as similar to them in terms of personality and values.

The second point, that organizations may prefer to hire individuals who have already adopted values consistent with those of the organization, has

been discussed by Etzioni (1975). He suggests that selectivity and socialization are partly interchangeable--selecting recruits with the proper value systems means that much less socialization is needed. Being nonselective may mean extensive socialization will be required before new members can adequately assume their organizational roles. Mulford, Klonglan, Beal, and Bohlen (1968) found some support for this idea. In general, it would seem cheaper to recruit individuals with the desired values than to try to extensively modify values after hire. The literature on the hard core unemployed suggests that inculcating good work habits and values in persons who do not have them is an extremely difficult task (Friedlander and Greenberg, 1971). Hall, Schneider, and Nygren (1970) have described how the Forest Service attracts and selects recruits with the proper "service oriented" value system. ". . . The forester enters the Forest Service with a self-identity and needs that are congruent with Forest Service goals, ready to respond to the organizational conditions resulting in organizational identification" (Hall, et al., 1971).

After choice, anticipatory socialization continues with the individual now attending more carefully to information about the chosen organization, rather than to information about many organizations (as may have been the case prior to choice). Somewhat more detailed expectations may be developed, attitudes such as organizational commitment begin to form, and some changes in self-image may occur. A "classic" study in occupational anticipatory socialization by Hall (1968) observed these outcomes. Graduate students were found to describe themselves as much more similar to professors shortly after passing their general doctoral exam than shortly before it. They also were able to provide a more detailed and rich description of themselves as professors after the exam. Hall (1968, p. 460) described this as "evidence of the literal growth of the students' professor-role subidentities." Passing

the exam may be considered the occupational socialization analog of accepting a job in organizational socialization, for it signifies that one will be allowed to continue to work for the Ph.D. and is quite likely to enter the chosen occupation. As soon as this hurdle was passed, the students began to prepare themselves in earnest to play the role that they would soon be entering.

#### Sources of Information

The sources of information used to construct expectations and engage in anticipatory socialization are many, and vary greatly in quality. If the information one obtains is basically accurate, socialization once inside the organization should proceed fairly smoothly. If one receives inaccurate information and so adopts unrealistic expectations, problems in adjusting to organizational reality may ensue. There is evidence that unrealistic expectations often occur. For example, Wanous (1976) found a clear decline from high levels of expectations as outsiders to successively lower levels across time after entry. Other studies comparing outsider's expectations to recruiter's job descriptions (Ward and Athos, 1972), newcomer's expectations to descriptions from experienced workers (Schneider, 1972) and remembered expectations to present experience (Dunnette, Arvey, and Banas, 1969) have also noted significant discrepancies. Thus, with the possible exception of "concrete" expectations (e.g. starting salary), it appears that the majority of outsiders hold inflated beliefs of the benefits to be accrued via organizational membership (Wanous, 1977).

The impact of these inflated expectations upon post-entry organizational functioning, particularly tenure, has been reasonably well established. For example, Katzell (1968) found higher turnover rates among those nursing students experiencing post-entry disconfirmation of their expectations while

Holberg and Berry (1978), found that among 7,989 enlisted men in the Navy, discharge rates were higher among those holding inaccurate expectations of recruit training. Finally, Feldman's (1976) research indicates that the more realistic a picture employees have of the organization, the easier are their subsequent attempts at role definition, i.e., their attempts to discover what is expected of them. Thus, accuracy of the information on which anticipatory socialization is based is clearly important. Several sources will be discussed below, and their probable accuracy assessed.

One source of expectations about the new job is the self. Thornton and Nardi (1975, p. 875) state, "Individuals develop images of what they feel will be expected of them and start to prepare themselves psychologically for what they expect the roles will be like. This anticipation is usually colored by what individuals want and need . . . because it is influenced in this way, because it is idealized, and because individuals fantasize about future roles, anticipation may not be congruent with what will actually be experienced." In addition, individuals may inflate their expectations about a new role as a means of reducing post-decision dissonance. When other attractive jobs are declined, the chosen alternative is evaluated more positively and rejected alternatives more negatively after the decision than before (Lawler, Kuleck, Rhode, and Sorenson, 1975; Misra and Kalro, 1972; Vroom, 1966). There is evidence that pre-entry expectations inflated in this way lead to greater disillusionment and dissatisfaction after one year on the job (Vroom and Deci, 1971).

It has been suggested that individuals will seek out more information and engage in greater anticipatory socialization when they desire to assume the new role than when they do not. Retirement is an example of a role which may not be valued, and as a result is often inadequately prepared for (Mortimer

and Simmons, 1978). On the other hand, desiring too much to assume the new role may cause one to screen out any negative information and develop inflated expectations.

The "self" may also be considered a source of expectations based on past experience. Having held a past job similar to the new job probably means that anticipatory socialization can be extensive and accurate, and that learning both technical skill and social content will occur quickly. Carp and Wheeler (1972) found evidence in support of this idea, in that newly appointed federal judges who had previously served as judges in state courts reported fewer problems in adjusting to their new role than did new judges who were formerly unspecialized lawyers, who in turn had fewer problems than former specialized lawyers. Louis (1980b) agrees that when a new role is quite different from the present role, it is very difficult to accurately anticipate and prepare for the new role. Similar roles are more easily anticipated.

Other sources of information are family, friends and the media (Van Maanen, 1976). The extent to which these sources can provide accurate information depends in part on the visibility of the role to them. Bassis and Rosengren (1975) studied socialization in a merchant marine academy and noticed steadily declining occupational commitment. They attributed this to reality shock as students discovered more and more about shipboard life. Since merchant marine is a largely non-visible role to the general public (few incumbents, isolated work station, etc.), the students were not able to adequately prepare for reality, or even to make informed choices about entering the occupation. Family, friends, and the media could not pass on information they did not have. Instead, what appeared to be transmitted were vague and stereotyped notions about "the romance of the sea."

In a study of simulated organizational choice, Fisher, Ilgen, and Hoyer (1979) found that friends and incumbents were rated as trusted and credible sources of organizational information for college seniors. Recruiters were distrusted and not seen as credible. Wheeler (1966) agrees, suggesting that peers, especially "near peers"--recent incumbents, ought to be the best source of information. The organization's socializing agents "have good reason to present an idealized version and are simply not in a position to view the process from the recruit's standpoint. Peers may err also, but they are likely to have the sort of information that the prospective recruit wants and needs to get along" (Wheeler, 1966, p. 85).

Finally, anticipatory socialization should proceed most readily when the several sources of information all agree (Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). If the new role is loosely defined or subject to a great deal of conflict, such that various sources do not agree, then the recruit will be unable to develop a clear picture of the job ahead of time. This may be either an advantage or a disadvantage, as will be discussed later.

Another major source of anticipatory socialization is schools. Indeed, Etzioni (1975) has argued that some organizations are largely dependent upon these relatively autonomous units for much of their socialization. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that the effects of socialization in an educational setting on subsequent organizational socialization has received only minimal attention.

Most of the studies in this area have examined the relationship between length of educational training (e.g. highest degree earned) and adaptation to organizational roles. For example, Alutto, Hrebiniak, and Alonso (1971) examined personality and anticipated role orientation differences among graduates of 2-, 3-, and 4-year nursing programs. While no differences were

found with respect to commitment to profession or organization, 2-year nurses displayed significantly higher levels of authoritarianism and 4-year nurses anticipated significantly greater role conflict. As regards this latter observation, Alutto, et al., (1971) posit that 4-year nurses, because they spend more time learning professional ideals, expect greater conflict when confronted with organizational reality. Similarly, Julian (1969) has examined the relationship between the amount of education involved in assuming a role and role dissensus--the dissimilarity in perspective towards decisions, values, beliefs, or situational definitions of members of the same position. Studying four positions in a hospital setting (doctor, registered nurse, practical nurse, and patient--ranked in descending order on the amount of education and therefore, according to the author, the amount of socialization needed to assume the role), Julian (1969) found, generally, that role dissensus varied inversely with the amount of prior socialization. That is, the longer one has trained to assume a role, the greater the consensus with similar others concerning subsequent role prescriptions.

The study of professionals in bureaucratic organizational settings has received considerable attention, primarily because of the conflict thought to arise when individuals imbued with autonomous professional values are faced with bureaucratic controls. In their study of scientists and professionals, Miller and Wager (1971) found type of role orientation, either professional or bureaucratic, to be largely a function of the length and type of educational training. That is, professionally oriented individuals were much more likely to be scientists with Ph.D. degrees while bureaucratically oriented persons tended to be master's level engineers. Moreover, the organizational setting served to strengthen these respective orientations rather than change or disrupt them (Miller and Wager, 1971). Similarly, in a recent study

Perrucci (1977) examined the relative importance of university versus organizational socialization in determining the role orientations of scientists and engineers. Utilizing a path analytic model, Perrucci (1977) found professional role orientations to result less from work setting influences than from graduate school training, particularly the length of that training.

In conclusion, jobs which require extensive training prior to entry also tend to result in a great deal of prior socialization, which may or may not be functional when the transition to an organizational setting is made. The general feeling seems to be that the more isolated the training is from the final work setting, the less accurate and less helpful the values learned in training are for final adjustment. For this reason, Schein (1968) suggests that internships during formal college training in business are needed to provide role aspirants with a valid picture of organizational reality. He argues that such practices will facilitate the transfer of skills from training to work settings while minimizing value conflicts and unrealistic expectations.

A final and major source of pre-entry job information is the organization and its representatives. Frequently, organizations attempt to present primarily favorable information about themselves, so as to attract large numbers of candidates. Job searchers may be aware of this, since they rated recruiters as the least trustworthy and credible source of information in the Fisher et al. study (1979). When the recruiter was portrayed as presenting negative as well as positive information, trust and credibility were higher, but still not as high as for other sources. Van Maanen (1975) and Zurcher (1972) describe cordial relations between police and military recruits and their respective organizations prior to entry, followed immediately by harsh treatment after entry.

Given the inaccurate job descriptions often received during traditional job previews and the negative effects associated with the resultant inflated expectations, it is not surprising that increased attention is being given to the "realistic job preview". As Wanous (1977) notes, the realistic job preview has been used not only to increase the amount and accuracy of information given job candidates--thereby increasing the quality of their choice of an organization--but also to facilitate accurate anticipation and minimize the "reality shock" often experienced by organizational newcomers.

It has further been suggested that realistic job previews may work by increasing applicants' commitment to the decision they make to accept a job. Numerous other studies have shown that subjects who make a free choice after having been informed of the possible adverse consequences of this choice increase their commitment to the choice by changing their attitudes in a direction consistent with their choice (e.f. Cooper, 1971; Goethals, Cooper, and Naficy, 1979; Linder, Cooper, and Jones, 1967). Possibly this same process occurs in choosing an organization. A further use of the realistic job preview was pioneered by Horner, Mobley, and Meglino (1979). They used previews to draw attention to successful methods of coping with job problems, instead of merely presenting information about the job. This technique should be quite fruitful, since, "Much of the coping process is anticipatory in nature and [should be] initiated before confrontation with a threat or stressor." (Meichenbaum, Turk, and Burstein, 1975). To the extent that newcomers can correctly anticipate and then prepare for future job problems, adjustment to the job should proceed more smoothly.

In studies contrasting realistic versus traditional job previews, job survival rate has been the major dependent variable. As predicted, in eight experiments those receiving realistic previews had lower rates of turnover

than those receiving more traditional previews, though the results were not always statistically significant (Weitz, 1956; Youngberg, 1963; Macedonia, 1969; Farr, O'Leary, and Bartlett, 1973; Wanous, 1973; Ilgen and Seely, 1974; Horner, et al., 1979; Zaharia and Baumeister, 1981). Concerning expectations, most studies examining the issue found that organizational expectations were altered by the realistic previews (Dugoni and Ilgen, 1981; Wanous, 1973; Youngberg, 1963). Two studies which measured post-entry attitudes found more favorable ones among those realistically recruited (Wanous, 1973; Youngberg, 1963), though Horner, et al. (1979) did not observe this effect.

Recently, Reilly, Tenopyr, and Sperling (1979) suggested that realistic job previews have more of an effect for complex jobs. In their study of a fairly simple job, they found no effects. If one assumes that simple jobs are easy to correctly anticipate and prepare for, then additional information in the form of a preview may not be necessary. However, for a complex or less visible job, any additional accurate information should contribute to helpful anticipatory socialization.

The usual "realistic" preview presents a single view of the job, usually the composite view of present incumbents as to what the job is like. For any given incumbent or applicant, this realistic composite may be as inaccurate as the organization's usual "unrealistic" recruiting spiel. Any single view is unlikely to exactly match the ideosyncratic reaction of a particular individual to a work setting, and if the view presented is accepted by the recruit, it is likely to result in unmet expectations of some sort. An alternate type of job preview might consist of describing the job as objectively as possible and then conveying the entire range of present employee reactions to the job. This approach provides a great deal of information, but may prevent the development of concrete expectations and thus minimize the possibility of disappointment.

On the other hand, the effectiveness of realistic job previews for any kind of job may have been overestimated. Wanous (1980) admits that most studies have produced very modest effect sizes. Louis (1980a) has given an excellent reason for this. She states that realistic job previews only deal with only one of six types of expectations which people have when entering an organization. They deal with conscious expectations about the job. One can also have emergent and tacit assumptions about the job, as well as all three kinds of expectations about one's self in the new job. The latter include expectations about how one will perform and how one will feel and fit in at the new job. The accuracy of all six kinds of expectations probably influences subsequent adjustment to the job.

Further, as suggested earlier, pre-employment expectations of any sort may be relatively unimportant to long-term adjustment. What one expected upon entering the organization five years ago is probably irrelevant to attitudes and behavior today. Perhaps the only long term impact of expectations would be the case where inaccurate initial expectations led to choosing a job totally inconsistent with one's basic values or abilities, such that accommodation proved impossible. This is clearly a more serious type of case than simply "being disappointed" that things were not quite what one expected.

A number of hypotheses can be derived from the preceding section. They are stated below, with an explanation where ever necessary. Some of the hypotheses have been tested before, once or twice, but not sufficiently to unquestioningly accept their veracity.

Hypothesis 5 Unmet (particularly under met) expectations will predict short-term (one year and less) turnover and job attitudes (satisfaction, committment) while value conflicts will predict both short and long term turnover and job attitudes.

Hypothesis 6 In general, recruits will tend to have unrealistic expectations about their new job and organization. This may be due to post-decision dissonance reduction (Vroom, 1966) or to lack of information.

Hypothesis 7 Information from job incumbents and non-organizational sources will be more credible and influential than will information from formal organizational sources

Hypothesis 8 The more "removed" job or professional training is from the setting in which the job or profession will be practiced, the less accurate anticipatory socialization will be, and the more resocialization will be required after joining the organization

An example is that earning a Ph.D. in many academic departments prepares one admirably to assume the professor role, but does not convey accurate expectations or teach appropriate behavior for practicing one's specialty in private industry or consulting. The academic setting is quite "removed" from many private-industry settings.

Hypothesis 9 Presenting the full diversity of views of present incumbents in a realistic preview will be more effective in reducing turnover than will the usual sort of realistic job preview.

### In - Role Socialization

Once the recruit enters the organization, a variety of processes occur. New sources of information and/or pressure are brought to bear. Structural factors of the situation affect the nature and effectiveness of socialization, as do the behavior of socializing agents and individual's own motivation. In this section each of these topics will be discussed, beginning with motivation.

#### Motivation

Why do newcomers allow organizations and work groups to mold their behavior and attitudes? How can organizations increase newcomer motivation to become socialized? Answers to these questions will become clear in the following discussion of motivation in the socialization process. General categories of motivation will be discussed in turn.

Anxiety. Many authors have invoked the idea of "anxiety" to explain the behavior of new recruits. Gomersall and Myers (1966) reported a case where newcomers had a great deal of difficulty learning the technical side of their jobs. The authors inferred that the problem was excessive anxiety, which interfered with learning. They designed an intervention to reduce anxiety in recruits, and observed that the experimental group of recruits learned the task much more readily than an untreated and presumably highly anxious group of newcomers. However, it is important to keep in mind that the experimental group contained only 10 subjects, and that anxiety was never actually measured.

Most writers maintain that some anxiety is useful in socialization. Individuals are motivated to reduce the unpleasant state of tension by learning their way around in the new setting. Berlew and Hall (1966, p. 26) are

particularly eloquent on this point. "In terms of field theory, when the new manager first enters an organization, that portion of his lifespace corresponding to the organization is blank. He will feel a strong need to define this area and develop constructs relating himself to it. As a new member, he is standing at the boundary of the organization, a very stressful location, and he is motivated to reduce this stress by becoming incorporated into the 'interior' of the company. Being thus motivated to be accepted by this new social system and to make sense of the ambiguity surrounding him, he is more receptive to cues from his environment than he will ever be again ..." (emphasis added). Schein (1968) and Van Maanen and Schein (1979) also note that newcomer anxiety is likely to be high, resulting in increased readiness to learn the new role.

Brett and Werbel (1980) have noted that transfers disrupt one's "routines" and that the motivation to re-establish them is strong. Constructing cognitive maps to impose predictability on an unfamiliar setting seems to reduce anxiety toward an optimal level from the super-optimal level that a new environment induces. Bourne (1967) describes the high level of anxiety among new Army recruits during the first few days of boot camp. These days are spent standing in line, waiting to be processed, and losing the trappings of civilian life. Anxiety does not decline until "the more strenuous regimentation and direction begins" (Bourne, 1967, p. 190). When recruits are given structure and rules, anxiety recedes. Newcomers to work organizations may reduce anxiety by seizing upon any and all cues, and complying with every received role expectation. Later, when anxiety has decreased, individuals may become more choosy about who they believe and which role expectations they fulfill.

The role of anxiety in socialization has been inadequately explored. In none of the studies located for this review was anxiety even systematically

measured! The possibility that anxiety has an inverted-U shaped relationship to role learning also merits further exploration. One possible hypothesis is that high levels of anxiety may inhibit skill learning but facilitate value and attitude learning, or at least outward conformity.

Efficacy. Bandura (1977) writes convincingly on the importance of self-efficacy expectations, or beliefs that one can succeed or master a situation. He states that "expectations of personal efficacy determine whether coping behavior will be initiated, how much effort will be expended, and how long it will be sustained in the face of obstacles and aversive experiences" (1977, p. 191). Feelings of personal efficacy and/or eventual success are assumed to be universally valued in Bandura's model.

Strong efficacy beliefs should be helpful in facilitating successful socialization where adjusting is likely to be difficult and lengthy (Brief and Aldag, 1981). Gomersall and Myers (1977) undoubtedly strengthened efficacy beliefs in their "anxiety reducing" intervention, since a large part of their treatment consisted of assuring the newcomers that they would be able to master the task. Gomersall and Myers used primarily "verbal persuasion" to increase efficacy expectations. Bandura (1977) lists two additional means which are relevant in the work setting: performance accomplishments, and vicarious experience. In using the former, newcomers might be helped to succeed on a simplified version of the task, thus fueling their belief that they will be able to master the entire task in time. Vicarious experience would be watching the success of others perceived as similar to oneself.

According to Bandura (1977), the strongest way to instill high self-efficacy expectations is through performance accomplishments (barring the misattribution of personal success to external factors). The organizational literature hints that generalized self-efficacy expectations are established

early in one's work life, and may have long term effects on career success (see Taylor, 1981, for review). In light of the short and long run effects of efficacy, special attention to the development of this motive is appropriate during early socialization.

Choice. The amount of choice that a newcomer feels he or she had in electing to enter the new role is probably related to subsequent motivation toward fully adjusting to the role. Cogswell (1968) and Strauss (1968) both note that role changes, or status passages, vary in desirability and voluntariness. If one freely chooses a new role, it probably means that the new role is preferred to the old or alternate roles, so that motivation to succeed in the new role should be high. Since the new role is preferable to the old one, problems associated with giving up the old role should be minimal.

One could call this a "rational choice" effect, in which preference precedes and determines choice. Another possibility is a "rationalization of choice" phenomenon. When people believe they have freely chosen one alternative over another, they may attribute preference post hoc, in order to appear self consistent (Vroom, 1966). Roberts (1968) details how British youth think they have chosen an occupation freely, but in fact they are highly constrained by social class, education, and virtually no knowledge about the occupations open to them. However, because the illusion of choice is maintained, "young people believe that they are personally responsible for the jobs they have entered ... It makes them ready to reconcile their ambitions to the occupations into which they have been allocated. To be dissatisfied with one's occupation would be to engage in self-criticism" (Roberts, 1968, p. 181).

Sylvia and Pindur (1978) used a similar explanation for the rapid value socialization of karate students. Beginning karate is painful, repetitious,

and frustrating. Students who elected to stay in the karate academy needed to explain to themselves why they tolerated the rigorous training. Quickly coming to believe in the values underlying the sport was an excellent and convenient way.

In a series of studies, Staw (see Staw, 1981 for a review) has documented the tendency of decision makers to maintain or increase their commitment to a course of action which they have freely chosen, even if their decision appears to have been incorrect. Decision makers are much less committed to losing courses of action when they were not responsible for the initial choice of actions (Staw, 1981). Job seekers ususally have some choice about accepting a job, so they may be expected to remain committed to their choice, even if the socialization period is fairly long and unrewarding.

Rewards/Power. The power of socialization agents to give or withhold both tangible and social rewards has a great bearing on the "socializability" of newcomers. Van Maanen's (1976) review of socialization centers around expectancy and instrumentality beliefs, as well as reward valence. He states that (p. 74) "The outcomes of the organizational socialization processes are determined largely by the organization's ability to select and utilize methods which communicate to the participants -- in a clear and precise manner -- what relevant role behaviors will lead to the available valued rewards." Graen (1976) also uses an expectancy theory framework to explain role taking behavior.

Several studies have noted that changes in values and behavior occur in the direction preferred by the most powerful role senders in the situation. For example, Kronus (1976) describes the "pattern of identification" of pharmacists who work in hospitals, chain stores, and neighborhood drug stores. He found that the professional value of identification with colleagues gave way

to identification with the most powerful group present in the particular type of organization. Thus, hospital pharmacists identified with doctors, neighborhood pharmacists with colleagues, and chain store pharmacists with clients (consistent with chain stores' emphasis on pleasing massive numbers of clients). Garnier (1973) reports that British military academy cadets who are already assigned to a unit are much less susceptible to socialization by the academy staff than are cadets whose future assignments depend on pleasing the staff. Berk and Goertzel (1975) found that newly hired psychiatric aides developed a more humanitarian approach to patients during their six month training program in which humanitarian methods were emphasize and rewarded. However, after training, they become less humanitarian and more custodial in orientation because the new most powerful agents - ward personnel - preferred and rewarded the latter.

Rewards need not be immediate to facilitate socialization. The promise that adjusting now will be followed later by more desired tasks, trust, and so on, is also a powerful motivator. A good technique may be to combine immediate rewards (such as grades and praise during training) with reminders of the later rewards (promotion, raises) which will accrue to the successful student. Of course, it helps if all rewards are contingent on the same set of desired behaviors. In the Berk and Goertzel (1975) study of psychiatric aides, they obviously were not.

Social rewards are extremely important in socialization. Their importance derives from the facts that they are often strongly desired by newcomers, and that they can be administered in a timely and contingent fashion more easily than tangible rewards. On the other hand, people seldom join work organizations for the primary purpose of making friends. Thus, social rewards are probably less important in work socialization than in initiation to a club or fraternity, where the main purpose of membership is social.

Whyte (1955), Roy (1952) and many others have described the impact of social rewards and punishment on the behavior of lower level workers in the area of adhering to group productivity norms. Stoddard (1972) has described how rookie police officers are gradually indoctrinated and corrupted by veterans, who withhold acceptance and approval for behaviors which are not consistent with "the code."

Recently, Latane (1981) stated some propositions which may enable one to predict the amount of impact which social influence attempts will have on others. He states that social impact is a function of the strength, immediacy, and number of others. "Strength" refers to status, age, power, closeness of relationship with the target of influence, and so on. "Immediacy" is closeness in time and space. "Number" has an interesting relationship with total impact. More influencers have more power, but each additional influencer results in a smaller increment in total impact. The difference between having 49 and 50 consistent role senders is much less than the difference between one and two.

Rewards can be used to obtain compliance and socialization in other ways as well. One way is to use massive social and/or tangible rewards to an "undeserving" newcomer to arouse feelings of guilt (Lewicki, 1980; Schein, 1968). The best way to decrease guilt is for the newcomer to try harder to learn and adjust, so as to please the organization. Organ (1977) describes the psychological processes underlying "reciprocity" of this sort.

A less direct role played by rewards is in helping neophytes decide who to model. Individuals who are perceived as successful and rewarded are more likely to be modeled than individuals perceived as less successful or unrewarded (Bandura, 1971; Weiss, 1970). One way of using rewards would be to distribute them in a highly visible fashion to "near peers" of newcomers who are displaying the behaviors and attitudes desired by the organization.

Investments. One motive for becoming socialized is to avoid losing the time and effort one has already invested in the organization. Schein puts it well (1968, p. 5), "New members are encouraged to get financially committed by joining pension plans, stock option plans, and/or house purchasing plans which would mean material loss if the person decided to leave. Even more subtle is the reminder by the boss that it takes a year or so to learn any new business; therefore, if you leave, you will have to start all over again. Why not suffer it out with the hope that things will look more rosy once the initiation period is over." Becker and Carper (1956) describe the growing commitment of physiology graduate students. Most of them had hoped to be physicians, but after spending a year of hard work acquiring the basic techniques and skills of the profession, they were unwilling to "start over" in medical school. Sheldon (1971) tested and supported the hypothesis that both investments (length of service) and involvements (social contact with coworkers off-the-job, acceptance by the work group) are positively related to organizational commitment. Kelly and Ware (1947) describe an organization's intentional use of involvement to hold new employees through the difficult task learning process. The employment interviewer, training director, and immediate trainer were designated the newcomer's first, second, and third friends. "There is a systematic effort to build up a strong chain of friendship which will tend to make the new adjustments easy and bind her to the job until she attains satisfactory production levels" (Kelly and Ware, 1947, p. 117).

Binding the newcomer in quickly should increase the likelihood of successful socialization by making leaving more expensive. It may be possible to build investment even before the recruit comes on board. For instance, some organizations may require the purchase of a uniform before the first day of

work. Others use a very long and difficult selection process. By the time an applicant is admitted to membership, he or she may have several months of time and effort already invested. Van Maanen (1975) notes that police recruit selection can take up to a year, allowing ample time for anticipatory socialization and feelings of investment to occur.

Personality. Finally, personality may affect the motivation to become socialized. Self-esteem and field independence both seem to affect modeling, with individuals low on these factors being more likely to copy others (Shaw, 1978; Weiss, 1978; Weiss and Nowicki, 1981). Presumably it would be easier to socialize this type of person. Individuals high in self-esteem appear to rely on their own resources in an unfamiliar setting. According to Weiss (1978, p. 717), they are "less inclined to engage in role search" in the external environment.

Presthus (1978) believes that "reactions to authority constitute the most critical variable in organizational accommodation." He feels that one's basic orientation toward authority is learned in childhood and is a highly stable characteristic. Thus, the extent to which one becomes socialized is more a matter of individual predisposition than of the structure, methods, or agents utilized by the organization. Presthus (1978) identified three patterns of accommodation to bureaucratic organizations, which he labeled "upwardly mobile," "indifferent," and "ambivalent." Various aspects of one's personality and social background, including "generalized deference toward authority" determine which pattern of accommodation an individual adopts.

On the other hand, Morrison (1977) was unable to identify more than a very few individual difference variables relevant to socializability. He identified a group of managers who had experienced a "major managerial role change," in policy, technology, or required leadership style and had either

successfully adjusted to the change or not successfully adjusted. Twenty-one personality, need, value, and decision style measures were collected from each manager. Only three variables were significantly different between successful and unsuccessful adjusters. Two of the three sound more like effects of successful adjustment than causes (self-esteem, career maturity), so one might conclude that personality is relatively unimportant for successful socialization in general. In specific jobs or settings where particular styles or personalities are desired (i.e. sales), already possessing the appropriate personality should make adjusting much easier.

Conclusion. There is much that is still not known about socialization and motivation. One might wonder which motives or combination of motives would lead to the greatest value change, or to the quickest behavior change. To what extent do different types of organizations rely on different motivations to induce socialization with various levels of employees? Which methods run the greatest risk of "backfiring" and arousing reactance (Brehm, 1966)? Should different methods be used with recruits who actively want to join the organization than with those who do not?

Following Kelman (1958), Van Maanen (1976) has suggested that the motivation to become socialized changes during the process - that at first, behavioral compliance is obtained through the use of rewards, including the reward of anxiety reduction, but that later identification with the primary work group or a single coach or mentor may emerge as the dominant motive. Last, internalization may be the motive for continuing organizationally desired behavior, as the incumbent has learned to value the same things as the organization.

Hypotheses concerning the role of motivation in socialization are suggested below. As before, some of these hypotheses have accumulated a little support, others are completely untested.

- Hypothesis 10 Anxiety has an inverted U shaped relationship to physical and mental skill learning among newcomers
- Hypothesis 11 Anxiety has a positive monotonic relationship with attitude and value learning among newcomers.
- Hypothesis 12 Newcomers who begin the socialization process with strong self-efficacy expectations are less likely to turnover during the process than individuals with weak self-efficacy expectations.
- Hypothesis 13 Newcomers who believe that they have freely chosen to assume a new role are more readily socializable than individuals who perceive less free choice.
- Hypothesis 14 Newcomers will tend to adopt the values and desired behaviors of the largest group of consistent role senders in the new environment.
- Hypothesis 15 Newcomers will tend to adopt the values and desired behaviors of the role senders with whom they spend the greatest amount of time.
- Hypothesis 16 Newcomers will tend to adopt the values and desired behaviors of the most powerful role senders in the new environment.  
(Powerful on one or more of French and Raven's (1959) bases--reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, or expert).

The above three hypotheses may conflict with each other in some settings. For instance, a superior may have more formal power, but be a sole, less frequently present role sender than the immediate work group. Like Van Maanen (1976) and Graen (1976), we expect that newcomers will apply an expectancy-theory like process in order to determine what behaviors will bring the greatest net reward. The above hypotheses implicitly assume that size of

the group of role senders, amount of time spent with role senders, and power bases of role senders are correlated with reward magnitude.

Hypothesis 17 Newcomers will tend to model the values and behavior of others in the same role who are perceived to be successful and rewarded.

Hypothesis 18 The development of early and substantial investments will decrease the likelihood of turnover during socialization, particularly when socialization is lengthy or unpleasant.

Hypothesis 19 Newcomers high in self-esteem will be more difficult to socialize than those low in self-esteem, since the former are less sensitive to models and environmental cues for behavior.

#### Organizational/Structural Factors

While the impact of structural properties on organizational socialization has received probably more consideration than any other set of factors, the importance of these variables for socialization success is still debatable (Mortimer and Simmons, 1979). For example, Becker (1964, p. 52-53), at one extreme, notes that: "A structural explanation of personal change has important implications for attempts to deliberately mold human behavior. In particular, it suggests that we need not try to develop deep and lasting interests, be they values or personality traits, in order to produce the behavior we want. It is enough to create situations which will coerce people into behaving as we want them to and then to create the conditions under which other rewards will become linked to continuing this behavior."

Somewhat at the other end, Mortimer and Simmons (1978) have argued that structural variations are less important than is the degree to which the organization controls access to future desired roles after socialization is

"complete." Finally, at a more moderate point along this continuum Cogswell (1968, p. 417), maintains that structural properties may "place limits on, but not necessarily determine, the behavioral alternatives within socialization systems."

"Structural" variables may be separated into two categories: aspects of the socialization setting, and aspects of the role itself. A number of dimensions of each will be discussed, and summarized in Table 5.

Dimensions of the Socialization Setting Van Maanen and Schein (1979) have identified six dimensions or strategies of organizational socialization which, they argue, will largely determine an individual's response to an organizationally defined role. Their work is well thought out and makes specific predictions, but remains largely untested. Therefore, most of the statements made below must be considered only hypotheses.

The first dimension along which socialization strategies may vary refers to whether or not newcomers are socialized individually or collectively and, according to Van Maanen (1978), may be the most crucial of the structural variables. Collective processing may serve to promote the development of cohort group solidarity and identity. This group perspective may serve to inhibit the individual such that custodial responses are more likely, or alternatively may provide the basis for collective newcomer resistance to socialization. At the other extreme, individual socializees, lacking peer group support and constraints, are less likely to develop homogeneous views and more likely to become innovators (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

Other authors have also discussed the importance of the individual-collective dimension. Wheeler (1966, p. 64) discusses this extensively, and concludes that collective modes may either "contain the seeds of counter-revolution", or "if initial commitment to the organization is high, ... the peer

TABLE 5  
Structural Dimensions

Of Socialization Settings and Strategies:

Individual vs Collective  
Formal vs Informal  
Sequential vs Random  
Fixed vs Variable  
Serial vs Disjunctive  
Divestiture vs Investiture  
Tournament vs Contest  
Newcomer vs Organizational Control

Of Roles:

Voluntary vs Nonvoluntary Role Assumption  
High vs Low Individual and Societal Valuation  
High vs Low Reward Magnitude  
High vs Low Role Clarity  
Peripherality vs Centrality of Role to Newcomer Identity

group may be harnessed as an aid in socialization, thus intensifying the effects of the formal socialization program." Lortie (1968) places great emphasis on the "shared ordeal" aspect of many ritualized status passages. Enduring a difficult initiation in the company of peers is thought to intensify the effect and result in greater personal change and higher self-confidence with respect to the new role. Lortie attempts to find support for these ideas by comparing the shared ordeal socialization experience of doctoral students becoming professors to the individual non-ordeal of public school teachers entering their occupation. This comparison is not very convincing, but nevertheless, the ideas are appealing. Strauss (1968) has noted that in some cases, several individuals may undergo a status passage at the same time, but may either be unaware of their peers, or be forbidden to communicate with them, in which case most of the expected effects of the collective mode or shared ordeal would not occur.

Evan (1963) investigated the effects of individual versus collective socialization in the context of adaptation to an engineering co-op program. He hypothesized that individuals placed in a work unit with one or more fellow students would adjust better and thus have lower turnover. The presence of peers was expected to lower stress and anxiety by providing an opportunity to discuss common performance and role conflict problems. Evan found that the presence of one peer did not reduce the turnover rate relative to no peers but having more than one peer did have the expected effect. A post hoc explanation was that the mere presence of similar others is not enough--one must have a "congenial" relationship, and the chances of finding a congenial peer increase as the number of peers available to choose from increases. Kanter (1977) also noted that having one peer was often not sufficient. Her research concerned "token" women in predominantly male departments. Two women could be

turned against each other and induced to compete with each other by the men, while the presence of more than two was expected to result in better adjustment and integration into the work group.

Bruckel (1955) found slight evidence that infantry teams transferred together had better attitudes and performance than infantrymen who were shipped overseas as individuals. However, this study suffered from a number of methodological shortcomings. One final piece of research bears directly on the individual-collective issue. Gomersall and Myers (1966) unintentionally manipulated this variable in their anxiety reducing orientation program for new female assemblers. The experimental group of ten women spent their first day on the job getting to know each other and being treated as a special group by the organization. They subsequently went to work, all on the same shift, in a work group including 60 others. It seems likely that they perceived themselves as a congenial group facing the same difficult adjustments together. Contrast this to "untreated groups" who spent very little time together in a brief, formal orientation. The greatly accelerated learning of the treatment group may have been due in part to the collective nature of the new orientation program.

Some interesting recent research in the area of child learning and socialization may also be relevant to the individual-collective issue.<sup>2</sup> Zajonc and Markus (1975) have suggested that the "intellectual environment" in a child's family is important for intellectual growth. Mean intellect is defined as the average intellect of all family members. The mean for the environment of a first or only child is much higher (infant (zero) + parent (high) + parent (high)  $\div$  3) than is the environment for a later (child (low) + child (low) + infant (zero) + parent (high) + parent (high)  $\div$  5). Evidence in support of this view comes from several very large sample studies in which

both birth order and family size are negatively related to intelligence of teenagers (Breland, 1974; Belmont and Marolla, 1973; Burton, 1968).

The same idea should be equally applicable in organizational socialization settings. One or a small number of newcomers should be able to learn the job more quickly than a large number, presumably because more newcomers further decrease the mean job - knowledge level of the work group. Newcomers in such settings would be expected to have relatively more of their interactions with other less knowledgeable newcomers and fewer with experienced employees than might be the case when there are few newcomers. Thus, speed and adequacy of learning the job should be lower for collective socialization modes. However, it is possible that structured training programs are one way of overcoming the problem of declining mean knowledge level created by multiple newcomers.

It appears that the effect of individual versus collective socialization strategies is not well understood. Arguments can be made that collective methods both increase and decrease socialization effectiveness and speed. Further research will be necessary to establish the actual impact of number of newcomers on socialization success. This may be one socialization question which can be explored in the laboratory as well as the field.

The second structural dimension of socialization identified by Van Maanen and Schein (1978) refers to whether the socialization process is formal--whereby the recruit is segregated from experienced members and his or her "learner" role made explicit--or informal. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) argue that more formal processes usually focus strongly on influencing values and attitudes, and also tend to produce a custodial response. Conversely, informal approaches are less concerned with attitudes, and, because of the relative freedom accorded the newcomer, are thought to produce extreme

responses—either highly custodial or innovative responses (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). It seems likely that organizations would choose to use formal methods when: 1) there are many newcomers to socialize at the same time, or 2) there is much knowledge or many skills to be learned before becoming a fully functioning role holder, or 3) substantial unfreezing or role dispossessing is necessary before assuming the new role. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) suggest that formal methods will be chosen when incorrect newcomer behavior is very costly or risky. In these cases, extensive formal training both prevents later mistakes, and also allows for practice in safer simulated work environments.

Van Maanen's (1976) third dimension, sequential versus random strategies, refers to the extent to which transitional processes are "marked by a series of discrete and identifiable stages through which an individual must pass in order to achieve a defined role and status within the organization" (p. 26.). For example, police recruits must progress through various phases of academy training and on-the-street apprenticeship before becoming "full-fledged" officers, while a factory worker may be promoted to supervisor without warning (Van Maanen, 1978). Where the steps one must take are ambiguous or changing, the socialization is random. There are several important aspects of sequential processes which may or may not be apparent in any particular organization, such as the degree to which each stage builds harmoniously upon the preceding stage, the degree to which the agents responsible for socialization at various stages hold congruent aims, and the degree to which an individual is required to keep to a schedule as he or she progresses through the sequence. Sequential approaches are thought to produce more custodial type responses among recruits, as toeing the line is necessary in order to be allowed to proceed from one step to the next. The diversity of

views encountered when newcomers are randomly socialized should produce more innovative orientations, according to Van Maanen and Schein (1979).

Both formal and sequential socialization procedures are likely to be marked by "rites of passage" which publicly mark the movements of newcomers to insiders. Formal rites can be helpful in changing the newcomer's image of him or herself (Hall, 1968) and in cueing all others in the setting that behaviors and expectations regarding the former newcomer should now be different. In addition, tolerating severe rites or initiation activities seems to enhance the attractiveness of the group for new members (Aronson and Mills, 1959) and may cause increased commitment.

However, rites can also occur in less formal settings. Feldman (1977) asked hospital employees in an informal, random socialization setting whether they recalled any "rites" or initiation activities which signified a status change. Only about 20 percent reported an "initiation to the work group" experience, while about 40% reported "initiation to the task". These usually involved positive feedback or demonstrations of trust and confidence in the newcomer.

Fixed versus variable strategies - the extent to which the individual is given precise knowledge of a timetable concerning how long it will take to complete a given step - represents Van Maanen's (1978) fourth dimension. Variable modes of socialization may cause considerable stress, anxiety, and frustration in the recruit; a result at least partially due to the lack of a unified peer group, since such varying patterns of movement tend to preclude the development of a loyal cohort group. Variable strategies also tend to produce custodial responses, as newcomers conform in order to win approval and promotion. Fixed timetables are more likely to yield innovative orientations, because of a reduction in power of agents of socialization when fixed patterns

of movement are specified ahead of time. This view is consistent with Garnier's (1973) observations of the lower power of teachers to influence the values of military academy students who were already assigned to a unit compared to those not yet assigned.

Van Maanen's (1978) fifth dimension, serial versus disjunctive strategies, concerns the presence or absence of appropriate role models. Wheeler (1966) also discussed the importance of this dimension at length. Serial strategies in which newcomers are trained by experienced members already occupying the role in question tend to ensure continuity from one generation to another and, not surprisingly, are more likely to produce custodial responses. Disjunctive strategies require the neophyte to "break new ground" in that he or she has no predecessor in whose footsteps to follow. As with the other ambiguity producing tactics, disjunctive socialization also tends to allow more innovative responses in recruits.

The sixth, and final, dimension considered by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) concerns the degree to which the socializing organization attempts to confirm or disconfirm the incoming identity of a newcomer. Whereas investiture strategies attempt to confirm or validate the legitimacy and usefulness of the characteristics the recruit already possesses, divestiture strategies are designed to eradicate or strip these away. The former allow a smooth and troublefree entrance, while the latter involve an identity-destroying as well as an identity-bestowing process. Where organizational entry is voluntary, divestiture strategies, if tolerated, may facilitate commitment, peer group unity, attitude homogeneity, and a custodial response. Such processes are also most likely to be found at the point of entry while most subsequent transitions within the organization are achieved via an investiture process (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

In an earlier work, Van Maanen (1978) outlined a seventh dimension, tournament versus contest socialization strategies. The former refers to the practice of differentially socializing recruits on the basis of presumed differences in ability, ambition, or background whereas the latter denotes strategies which avoid distinguishing between superiors and inferiors of the same rank. Thus, the tournament approach allows for employees with "high potential" to enter different tracks of advancement than those of average ability. According to Van Maanen (1978), tournament strategies, because a single setback may be disastrous for the individual, tend to reduce cooperation among peers and produce employees who are insecure, unwilling to take risks, and obsequious to authority. Along the same line, Geer (1972) noted that occupational training programs vary greatly in the importance of evaluation, and that this has some (unspecified) impact on the behavior of trainees.

A dimension identified by Geer (1972) and also mentioned by Strauss (1968) concerns control of the socialization process. Some passages we all go through are not under the control of either the passer or any agent, such as changes from child to adult, or from health to illness (Strauss, 1968). However, most organizational and occupational passages are controlled. Newcomers have control of which jobs they accept, and in self-paced, informal, random, or variable socialization settings they may have a great deal of control over their own socialization. Individuals in formal, sequential, or fixed programs have less control. The lowest amount of control is possessed by recruits in "total institutions" such as prisons, asylums, and the military. One might expect situations in which agents are strongly in control to result in quick and homogeneous behavior change which persists as long as the control mechanisms stay active. Newcomer controlled socialization will result in slower and less predictable change, which will probably be much more deeply rooted and long lasting.

One could hypothesize that socializee-controlled modes are likely to be chosen by the organization when: 1) the newcomer is believed or known to be appropriately motivated to assume the new role, 2) the newcomer has little extremely different or new material to master, as for instance in transfer within the organization, or 3) there are too few newcomers to justify a formal, organization-sponsored training program, 4) the organization does not care about newcomer adaptation or is unaware of the importance of socialization processes.

Role Dimensions A number of aspects of the new role also affect how readily the newcomer will become socialized. Strauss (1968), Cogswell (1968), and Mortimer and Simmons (1978) have identified a number of dimensions which will be discussed below. All three articles mention the desirability of the new role and whether or not it was chosen voluntarily by the new incumbent. Cogswell adds the idea that as well as being differentially valued by role holders, many roles are valued to greater or lesser extents by society (for instance, IRS investigator versus pediatrician). A personally and societally valued role should be more readily assumed. Mortimer and Simmons (1978) discuss the reward magnitude associated with a new role compared to the old role. Certainly this variable must contribute to one's valuation of roles.

A second aspect of the new role is its clarity, or institutionalization (Cogswell, 1968). A role that is clearly understood and clearly transmitted by agents should be easier to assume than one which is ill-defined. Returning to Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) dimensions, serial methods of socialization should possess greater clarity, as others have already held the role. New roles are possible in a disjunctive setting, and clarity may be lacking.

A final aspect of the role is its relationship to previously and concurrently held roles, and to desired future roles (Mortimer and Simmons,

1978). Strauss (1968, p. 268) probably embraces all these relationships in what he labels the "centrality of the passage to the person," though he does not elaborate. Cogswell (1968, p. 436) is thinking along the same lines when she states that, "Individuals may socialize into roles which are either primary or peripheral to their identity." Peripheral-type roles will be adopted as far as required behavior, but probably not attitudes or values (Cogswell, 1968). Graen, Orris, and Johnson (1973) studied clerical workers who saw their new job as being either relevant or irrelevant to their desired future work. This classification is probably similar to the primary-peripheral distinction made above. They found that individuals who said the job was relevant were more satisfied, more quickly reduced ambiguity with regard to their role, and were less likely to turnover (Graen and Ginsburgh, 1977) compared to people who felt the job was irrelevant.

Conclusions A number of structural aspects of both the socialization setting and the role itself have been discussed. In many cases, the effects of these structural factors on socialization are unclear, and further research is needed. Some hypotheses appear below.

Hypothesis 20 Collective socialization modes will result in different outcomes (in terms of amount of innovation, speed of learning, etc.) than will individual modes.

Hypothesis 21 Formal, sequential, variable, serial, or tournament types of strategies will produce a more custodial reaction than will informal, random, fixed, disjunctive, or contest strategies (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979; Van Maanen, 1978).

Hypothesis 22 Socialization strategies which first disconfirm the newcomers identity will produce greater recruit turnover and initial dissatisfaction, but more commitment, greater homogeneity, and less innovation following socialization.

- Hypothesis 23 New roles which are valued by the newcomer and/or society will be more readily assumed than new roles which are less valued by the newcomer and/or society.
- Hypothesis 24 Clearly understood and transmitted roles, and/or serial roles, will be more quickly learned than will ambiguous and/or disjunctive roles.
- Hypothesis 25 When newcomers control the socialization process, outcomes will be less predictable, socialization will be slower, and new learning will be more strongly internalized than when organizations control the socialization process.

Another line of research would use Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) structural socialization strategies as dependent variables, and attempt (descriptively) to find out the circumstances under which organizations actually choose to use the various strategies.

- Hypothesis 26 Organizations will choose employee-controlled and/or informal socialization modes when: newcomers are believed to be motivated to assume the new role, the newcomer's former identity is to be confirmed rather than disconfirmed, there is little different, difficult or risky new learning required, or there are few or infrequent newcomers.

### Agents

When newcomers enter organizations, they learn norms, values, behavior, and skills in many ways. Structural dimensions of the socialization setting as well as the role partially determine learning methods. However, in virtually all cases, most learning relies in some way upon other people - agents of socialization. One can learn by modeling, through direct instruction from a coach or trainer, through agent-administered reward or punishment, or through

agent non-reward (extinction). Agents can be individuals or groups, and be peers, superiors, subordinates, clients, or almost anyone else with direct or indirect access to the newcomer.

Evidence on the importance of various agents is available from data we recently collected from new nurses. Twenty registered nurses with two weeks to five months experience on their first hospital job replied to an open ended questionnaire which asked what things (people, environment, etc.) facilitated their adjusting to the new job. By far the most common class of replies was some kind of action of another person, or agent.

Twenty-nine of fifty-one responses fell into this category (the remaining responses included something in the newcomer's background or formal training which was helpful (13 responses) and miscellaneous aspects of the situation, such as being trusted, being given autonomy, working in a low pressure situation, working in a climate compatible with giving good patient care, and working in a teaching hospital where learners are commonplace). Some of the agent-related responses were fairly general and concerned actions on the part of "the staff" or some aggregate of various types of agents. Helpful characteristics of this group included friendliness, supportiveness, and willingness to provide instructions. Coworkers were often singled out as critical agents facilitating adjustment. Six nurses reported that a single co-worker, sometimes as part of a formal "buddy-system", was particularly important in their socialization. Other nurses, or co-workers were mentioned eleven times as important sources of both information and encouragement. Superiors were also important, with head nurses being specifically mentioned three times, and physicians mentioned four times. Further detail on the importance of peers and superiors as agents will be given later, but first the issues of novice-agent relations, selection of agents, and multiple agents will be discussed.

Novice-Agent Relationships. Cogswell (1968) points out that agents are not always aware of their role and may not be consciously trying to socialize anyone. This could occur where agents are used as models or information sources by recruits who are intentionally seeking out knowledge about their new role. Further, agents can vary as to how much previous experience they have relevant to the role in question: 1) have they ever or do they now occupy the role into which they are attempting to socialize someone? and 2) have they socialized others to the role in the past, or is the present newcomer their first? Cogswell (1968) believes that these dimensions probably have some impact on socialization, and it does seem likely that they would affect the credibility of the agent. A final aspect of agents mentioned by Cogswell (1968) is "relative anomie". This concerns the extent to which the novice, agent, both, or neither have clear and accurate expectations about behavior in the target role. When the agent knows exactly what the target role entails and the newcomer does not, socialization should proceed in a fairly smooth and typical fashion. Problems arise when neither the agent or novice know what the novice is supposed to be doing or when the novice knows but the agent does not. This latter case may occur when a professionally trained individual is the first of his or her kind to be hired in an organization.

A final point is that the influence process in socialization is not always one-way. As Cogswell (1968, p. 424) states, "Agents are sometimes resocialized by novices." This should be particularly likely to occur when the agent: 1) is not intentionally trying to socialize the novice, 2) has not previously occupied the target role nor socialized anyone else for it, or 3) does not have clear expectations regarding the target role.

The nature of the affective relationship between agent and novice is quite important. Mortimer (1975) cites literature indicating that children adopt the values of their fathers to a greater extent when "paternal identification" is high, and that this in turn depends on warmth and nurturance. Van Maanen (1975) states that the affective bond between rookie police officers and field training officers is critical to rookie adjustment. Weiss (1978) found that subordinates model their superior's values to a greater extent when the superior used a considerate leadership style. Becker and Carper (1956) described how physiology graduate students rapidly became socialized through friendly working relationships with older students and a close "apprenticeship" with a faculty member. In this study, students in engineering enjoyed little peer contact, and those in philosophy tended to have distant relationships with faculty members. Coincidentally, "less" socialization or attitude change appeared to go on in the latter two programs.

Brim (1966) presents the most detailed discussion of this aspect of novice-agent relationships. He cites many studies indicating that power and affectivity are two major dimensions of relationships. The deep and long-lasting effects of childhood socialization occur partly because both power and affectivity are usually very high in children's relationships to agents (parents). Brim notes that the "brain washing" attempts with adults which are most successful are those in which these two factors are heavily used. However, most adult socialization occurs among individuals of roughly equal power and low affectivity. Increasing either should enhance value and behavior change among novices.

Multiple Agents. In most socialization settings, more than one agent is present. The relative power of agents probably depends on a number of factors, including tangible reward power, social power (which depends partly on

number (Latane, 1981)), amount of contact with the newcomer, perceived legitimacy, explicitness of sent role expectations, and compatibility of those expectations with the newcomer's own desires.

The issue of relative power becomes important since various agents often do not agree with each other with regard to the novice's role. Thus, newcomer behavior may be the resultant of agent forces varying in direction and power. Adler and Shuval (1978) present complex analyses of the shifts in medical student values which tend to support this idea. Similarly, Jick and Greenhalgh (1981) found that newcomers to a "declining" organization adopted views midway between the optimism of formal, organizational sources and the pessimism of peer sources. New nurses were found to switch their primary role model upon encountering conflicting expectations (Kramer, 1968). Specifically, many newly graduated nurses were found to cease identifying with nurse instructors, and instead embrace the somewhat different orientation of the staff nurses who were their new peers.

When agents do not agree with each other, novices may manifest either fewer changes in behavior and beliefs, or less consistent change. Ondrack (1975) studied two nursing schools, one with high faculty concensus and one with low concensus. Greater change, and change more consistently in the direction of faculty values, was observed in students of the high concensus school relative to the low concensus school.

Lippitt (1968) has categorized the reactions of children to conflicting socialization pressures from multiple agents. It is likely that some of these reactions could also be observed in organizational socialization. The first reaction he calls "compartmentalized loyalty". It includes complying with whichever agent is present and active at the moment. This approach will probably not work over the long term, as several agents may legitimately claim

control over the same time periods or situations. Compartmentalized loyalty may be a behavior pattern adopted early in a newcomer's experience, while he or she is trying to accumulate as much information as possible about expected behavior from as many agents as are willing to give direction. Conflicts between the expectations of various agents may not become clear until later. A second reaction outlined by Lippitt (1968) is "pervasive dominant loyalty," or listening to only a single agent, and following that individual's directions in all situations. Alternatively, a newcomer could "reject the references", or listen to none of the agents, regardless of legitimacy, and do only what he or she wanted to do. This is unlikely to be a functional solution in organizations. A fourth reaction is to "strike a balance," or try to compromise among conflicting demands. According to Lippitt, this is difficult and usually dissatisfying to all parties. The preferred reaction is "integration and reciprocal influence." This closely parallels Thornton and Nardi's (1975) "personal" stage of socialization, in that conflicts are proactively resolved by the incumbent acting to modify and integrate the expectations of various agents, rather than passively reacting to them. While this strategy is probably desirable, newcomers may not have the knowledge, credibility, power, or personal relationships with agents necessary to engage in this kind of negotiation. It seems likely that one of the other four reactions might be most common among very new organization members, with the integration and reciprocal influence reaction occurring later in the socialization process.

Van Maanen (1976) has developed a somewhat simpler framework for categorizing newcomers' reactions to conflicting demands from the two most common types of agents - superiors and peers. The "outsider", similar to Lippitt's reference rejector, complies with neither work group nor organizational expectations. Not surprisingly, "...such participants find their organizational

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membership short lived" (Van Maanen, 1976, p. 113). The "team player" complies with both sets of expectations, and can only exist where expectations are fairly compatible. In Jackson's terms (1966), it can happen when the "ranges of tolerable behavior" as defined by work group and organization overlap, though the "most preferred" level of the behavior may be different. "Isolates", according to Van Maanen (1976), accept the organization's expectations but not those of the work group. This is likely to be an uncomfortable solution, as work group members are often more continuously present and visible as agents than are representatives of the formal organization. A final reaction is to become a work group "warrior", who "engages in a running battle with the organization at large ... protected to a certain degree by his relevant group" (Van Maanen, 1976, p. 113). However it is accomplished, learning to live with the conflicting expectations of multiple agents is often a critical task for newcomers adjusting to their jobs.

Selection of Agents. In some informal socialization settings, newcomers may be able to select their own agents. In such cases, they would probably avoid selecting agents who present conflicting information and expectations, and thus avoid some of the problems discussed above. Carp and Wheeler (1972) report a fascinating study of the selection of agents by newly appointed district judges. Their raw results can be interpreted as pointing to several bases on which newcomers select agents.

They found that all new judges in thier sample reported seeking advice and help from other district judges, while very few received or desired help from appellate judges. Thus, one might conclude that one basis for selecting agents is similarity of role. One judge in the sample expressed this directly, "Only another trial judge could understand the problems of a trial judge." (Carp and Wheeler, 1972, p. 378).

Another basis for the selection of agents appears to be availability. Judges serving in multi-judge cities received advice and help from fellow judges more often and easily than judges who were geographically isolated. One judge recalled, "My prime sources of help were the two judges here in [X city]," while another stated that, "I had the help I needed right down here in the corner of this building on this floor," pointing in the general direction of another judge's chambers (Carp and Wheeler, 1972, p. 377).

In addition to physical accessibility, acquaintanceship may also be an aspect of availability. "The judges interviewed all indicated a reluctance to seek advice from judges whom they had not met personally" (Carp and Wheeler, 1972, p. 377). Judges felt that formal modes of socialization such as New Judges Seminars and Circuit Judicial Conferences were helpful more for the opportunity to make contacts than for the content of the programs themselves. "...the most beneficial aspect of the conference is just getting a chance to meet the other judges in the circuit. If you ever have to phone or write to another judge, it's always easier if you have met him first" (Carp and Wheeler, 1972, p. 385). Judges also sought help from their staff of law clerks, and from the lawyers bringing cases before them. Both of these sources are clearly available both geographically and in terms of acquaintance.

Finally, agents were chosen on the basis of perceived expertise. Experienced fellow judges, the most commonly cited agents, would certainly be considered experts at the judge role. Law clerks have their own areas of expertise as well as being "frequently aware of new practices and procedures in judicial administration with which the judge might not be familiar" (p. 379). One third of the judges said that they have sought help from local lawyers who specialize in a particular, relevant, area of the law but who are

not involved in the case in question. "For example, if I had a complex patent case, I might ask one of my friends who is a patent lawyer for help."

(p. 381). Selecting agents on the basis of perceived expertise is certainly consistent with the research which shows that successful and rewarded others are most frequently chosen as models (Bandura, 1965; Weiss, 1978).

In summary, the selection of agents seems to be based on at least three factors: similarity of role, availability, and expertise. It is clear that more research will be necessary before a great deal of confidence can be placed on this list of factors.

One other study looked at choice of role model by newly graduated nurses (Kramer, 1968). Upon graduation, most subjects identified more with nursing instructors than practicing nurses, presumably because the former are highly available and expert during nurse training. After 10-13 weeks of employment, many nurses had begun to identify with staff nurses as models, and by 25-26 weeks, some new nurses had further shifted to identifying with and modeling the head nurse, a position they aspired to. Role similarity, availability, and expertise explain the first shift, and desired role similarity, availability, and expertise explain the second.

Now that some general issues concerning agents have been discussed, the more common and influential agents of organizational socialization will be considered specifically. The influence and methods of peers as agents will be discussed, and then the role of superiors in the socialization process will be described, and finally an assortment of other agents will be mentioned.

Peers. As the recruit gains entry into the organization, he or she also enters a smaller group of individuals, be it a work unit, platoon, or precinct. It has been noted that while organizational authorities are responsible for communicating the formal aspects of the new role, it is the

peer group which transmits to the newcomer certain informal "collective understandings" concerning appropriate attitudes, values, and behaviors (Van Maanen, 1976). Where the role is characterized by a lack of clarity, the importance of these groups increases as the newcomer strives to define his or her role (Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). Further, the importance of other work group members as agents of socialization will depend partially upon the degree of functional interdependence within the unit (Graen, 1976, p. 1221). Peers may be less interested in socializing new recruits when recruit behavior is irrelevant to their own jobs.

Before discussing the literature with respect to organizational socialization and work groups, a brief review of some of the social psychological research findings on small groups may provide a useful framework. Newcomb (1966) has suggested that a group's influence is largely a function of three factors. First, size is important in that small groups tend to be more influential. This observation, however, must be considered a general one in that decreasing the size of the group, at some point, may also decrease the influence of the group. Wicker and Mehler (1971) have shown that socialization into a small church (measured by participation in church activities) proceeds more rapidly than into a large church. They attribute this to relative undermanning of activities in the smaller organization, which both allows and necessitates quick integration and full participation by new members. On the other hand, recall that Latane (1981) suggests that the power of others increases as they become more numerous. Second, homogeneous groups also tend to be more influential. Thus, high selectivity by the organization may produce peer groups with relatively greater power over newcomers. Third, the more isolated the group, the greater its influence (e.g. military outposts). At the same time, isolation may prevent other would-be agents with conflicting

expectations from having access to the newcomer. It has been suggested that "primary groups" - those characterized by regular, face-to-face interaction - are more influential than "secondary groups", or those lacking this contact. Thus, every time an organizational member crosses a boundary via transfer or promotion, he or she must adapt to a new primary group, the old one now being a secondary group. Given the influence of small groups, it is not surprising that it has been suggested "the problem of socialization (is) partially one of making sure that the new member selects the appropriate reference group" (Van Maanen, 1976, p. 91-92).

Work groups are also important to the learning of skills necessary for effective role performance. As Gross (1975) notes, the learning of certain "tricks of the trade" (e.g., those that save time and energy or prevent injury) is an important skill acquisition of the socialization process and one not likely to occur until the individual is accepted as trustworthy member by his or her co-workers. On the other hand, groups may also retard role performance by demanding adherence to informal production quotas, i.e., the "ratebuster" phenomenon. A similar effect was noted by Van Maanen (1975), in his analysis of police socialization, in that rookie patrolmen were admonished by the more experienced to "lay low" and not approach the job with too much exuberance.

Work groups often have little formal power over the newcomer, and typically resort to informal means such as providing or withholding social acceptance or "insider" information. The cues and rewards used by work groups are often subtle, but newcomers who wish to gain acceptance usually have little trouble interpreting them. Chadwick-Jones (1964) reported that this had apparently been the case when new recruits were socialized on to steel mill work teams. However, the factory suddenly began hiring new Italian immigrants to work on the teams, and the old system fell apart. First, the

Italians were not motivated to make a career of this particular job, and second, because of cultural and language barriers, they were unable to learn from the subtle gestures and brief comments which had always served to straighten out new employees in the past. In frustration, old team members changed tactics and began to work through the formal process of union sanctions to ensure appropriate behavior on the part of the new team members. Eventually, some immigrants were successfully socialized, but many others quit instead.

The existence of reference groups external to the organization may inhibit the goals of organizational socialization. As several authors have argued, the professional in a bureaucratic organization must participate in two distinct and irreconcilable systems. Where the organization seeks control over task objectives and the means by which these are realized, the professional subculture may inculcate contrasting standards and norms of conduct. In this respect, the cosmopolitan - local dichotomy suggested by Merton (1957) and others (Gouldner, 1957, 1958) seems particularly relevant. Briefly, the "cosmopolitan" is one who is more committed to his or her profession than to the organization while a "local" tends to identify more closely with the organization. While the existence of relatively autonomous, external reference groups would logically seem to reduce one's adherence to and acceptance of organizational norms (Van Maanen, 1976), the research results on cosmopolitan/local orientation and role conflict have been inconsistent and hence inconclusive (Dansereau, Graen, and Haga, 1974; Hinrichs, 1972; Miller and Wager, 1971; Sorensen and Sorensen, 1974).

Before leaving the discussion of group influences in the socialization process, it should be noted that one's primary reference group may be totally unrelated to the organization or even the occupation (Van Maanen, 1976).

Indeed, Dubin (1956) and his colleagues (Tausky and Dubin, 1965) have presented evidence indicating that for many employees the importance of work and social relationships at work is quite minimal, appropriate behavior being induced only through the reward and punitive powers of the organization.

### Superiors

Just as peer groups represent an important informal source of information and influence, the role of supervisors/superiors in the socialization process, though more formal, appears equally substantial. That is, while peer and reference groups must rely primarily on informal social sanctions, supervisors have at their disposal organizationally recognized powers of reward and punishment.

Much of the supervisor's power derives from his or her subordinate evaluation function and, according to Feldman (1976), the congruence of this evaluation with that of the newcomer is crucial to effective socialization. In support of this, Feldman (1976) found satisfaction to be largely dependent upon the extent to which the newcomer and his or her supervisor were able to agree on their evaluations of the newcomer's progress. Similarly, in Van Maanen's (1975) analysis of a police department, organizational commitment was positively related to the evaluations new patrolmen received from their sergeants.

In addition to shaping behavior by means of rewards, superiors are crucial sources of expectations for newcomers. Krackhardt, Makenna, Porter, and Steers (1981, p. 249) note that "... newcomers require more social cues for what is expected than do veteran employees," and that superiors are (or should be) the primary sources of such cues. The importance of superior expectations for the long term success of organizational newcomers has been suggested in work by Berlew and Hall (1966). These studies indicated that having a

challenging first job and a first superior with high expectations are associated with greater success and performance years later in one's career. The impact of superiors may be particularly great where a peer group is lacking or not allowed to interact. Sylvia and Pindur (1978) noted the heavy impact of the instructor on the values of new karate students in a situation where communicating with peers in class was forbidden.

The influence of superiors can also occur through more subtle means than the use of power or the direct communication of expectations. Griffin (1981) reported that supervisors could be trained to offer their subordinates cues about the extent to which the subordinates' job possessed desirable task characteristics. Supervisors made frequent comments directing their subordinates' attention to the variety, autonomy, and task identity of their jobs. These comments were effective in increasing the levels of task characteristics perceived by the subordinates, and also heightening their job satisfaction. The Griffin (1981) study grows out of the "social information processing" approach put forward by Salancik and Pfeffer (1978), and shows the supervisor to be a potent source of such information.

Finally, superiors can influence the behavior of new subordinates by intentionally or unintentionally providing a model of behavior appropriate in the organization. Bandura (1971) notes that entirely new behaviors can be acquired through modeling, as when the newcomer learns how to fill out a form or assemble a radio by observation. In addition, models can also cue observers as to which already learned behaviors are appropriate to display in a particular setting. Studies by Weiss (1977, 1978) documented that subordinates modeled the leader style and value orientations of their superior, particularly when the superior was perceived as successful and influential in the organization, and when the subordinates had low

self-esteem. Modeling one's superior is productive only if the superior's behavior truly is desired by the organization, and is appropriate not only in the superior's job, but in the subordinate's or modeler's job as well. For example, a subordinate who models a supervisor's casual mode of interaction with fellow supervisors may abruptly discover that such behavior is inappropriate to one of his or her status. In this case, modeling the behavior of experienced peers may be more helpful. Weiss and Nowicki (1981) and Rakestraw and Weiss (1981) both demonstrated that modeling of peers does occur, at least in a laboratory setting.

Other Agents. In addition to the work group and supervisor, several other classes of individuals can also serve as agents. These include subordinates, superiors above the level of the immediate supervisor, clients or customers, personnel and training staff, union leaders, family, and outside interest groups or professional organizations. Clearly these groups will not all be present for all jobs. Two which are often present, subordinates and higher management, will be discussed in more detail below. Finally, the self will also be considered as an agent of socialization.

Subordinates are likely to be selected as sources of information and expectations by new supervisors due to their high availability, and their expertise about "the way things are done around here." While subordinates are incomplete and probably biased sources of role expectations for new superiors, they can probably be quite helpful in a number of areas. In the case of somewhat disjunctive socialization, where the former incumbent is not available to train his or her replacement, subordinates provide continuity and a large knowledge base to draw upon.

Graen's (1976) research on the development of unique dyadic relationships in superior-subordinate pairs is also relevant here. Superiors and

subordinates mutually define the nature of their relationship during the first few months of their association. A part of this process includes the subordinate acting as an agent of socialization to the superior.

Subordinates can also socialize superiors through less obvious means. For instance, it has been documented that subordinate behavior can affect the leadership style assumed by a superior (Farris and Lim, 1969; Crowe, Bochner, and Clark, 1972). Subordinates can also act as "gate keepers" or information filters (O'Reilly, 1978; Roberts and O'Reilly, 1974). They may exert some influence over the new superior's beliefs and behavior by manipulating the information which her or she receives.

Upper management, above the immediate superior, may also serve as an agent of socialization. In some cases, the influence of an upper manager may be direct, if her or she takes a special interest in the newcomer or becomes their "mentor." Upper managers may be agents of socialization without being aware of the fact, if newcomers chose to model their behavior. This is probably quite common, if newcomers desiring to move into upper management themselves select an incumbent of their eventual desired job to model. However, superiors above the newcomer's immediate supervisor probably exert most of their influence on socialization by indirect and non-personal means. For example, they formulate the procedures which newcomers must learn, and they may approve both selection and training procedures which impact on new recruits. Upper management collectively also contributes heavily to the climate and value system which characterize the organization, and to which the newcomer must adjust.

A final type of agent is the self. From one point of view, everyone ultimately socializes him or her self, in choosing which socialization pressures from others to respond to. Another view is that newcomers only

become active agents of their own socialization when other agents are initially unwilling to help. For instance, we have discussed one early learning content as being "learning who to learn from and cultivating their willingness to help." An even more extreme case would be where other agents were largely unavailable and the newcomer had to socialize him or her self by trial and error or the use of written materials. Carp and Wheeler (1972) found that this was the case especially for new judges assigned to a city without other judges. "Of the thirteen judges who spent the first year of their judicial tenure in single-judge cities, ten strongly asserted that they had socialized themselves" (p. 387). Judges did this by studying casebooks, statute books, and the like. Self-socialization in the absense of agents may be considered extremely disjunctive, by Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) typology. As such, one might expect self-socialization to produce very heterogeneous results across individuals.

Summary and Hypotheses Very few studies have investigated the role of agents in the socialization process. We know very little about how newcomers choose which agents to attend to. We have suggested that power, affectivity, similarity of role, availability, and expertise may contribute this decision, but there is little empirical evidence for this list to date. The problems of dealing with multiple and conflicting agents have also been inadequately explored. Some hypotheses based on this section appear below.

Hypothesis 24 Newcomers will be more likely to socialize agents, rather than the reverse, when the agent is not intentionally trying to socialize the newcomer, has not previously occupied the newcomer's role nor socialized anyone else for it, or does not have clear expectations regarding the role.

- Hypothesis 25 Greater newcomer learning and attitude and behavior change will occur when agents have positive affective relationships with newcomers.
- Hypothesis 26 Multiple agents who are consistent in their expectations of newcomers will cause more changes in newcomer beliefs and behavior than will a single agent or agents who disagree on the newcomer role.
- Hypothesis 27 When newcomers are free to choose some of their agents, they will tend to choose others who occupy the same role as they do, or who occupy a role which the newcomer aspires to hold. Further, agents also will be chosen on the bases of availability (both geographically and through acquaintanceship) and perceived expertise.
- Hypothesis 28 Peers will be a more potent force toward socialization of newcomers when they perceive that they are somewhat dependent on or tied to the newcomers (due to characteristics such as interdependent work flow or shared union membership) than when peers feel independent of newcomers.
- Hypothesis 29 Newcomers will be socialized more quickly when they join understaffed work units than when they join appropriately or over-staffed units.
- Hypothesis 30 Self-socialization will produce more heterogeneity across newcomers than will agent socialization, assuming that newcomers have some agents in common in the latter case.

### Conclusions

A summary of many of the issues discussed in this paper appears in Figure 3. It is clear that organizational socialization is a complex process, with many variables potentially contributing to a wide variety of outcomes. At present, the process is poorly understood, yet it is a process which occurs repeatedly throughout most individuals' lives. That there is a pressing need to better understand organizational socialization is immediately obvious from a glance at the "outcomes" column of Figure 3. If even a few of these possible outcomes are affected by socialization experiences, then any increased knowledge of the process will be very valuable.

In an effort to channel future research in the most productive directions, a constructive critique of past socialization research is presented below. Finally, suggestions for types of future research are made. Some specific hypotheses for future research have already been given in earlier sections of this paper.

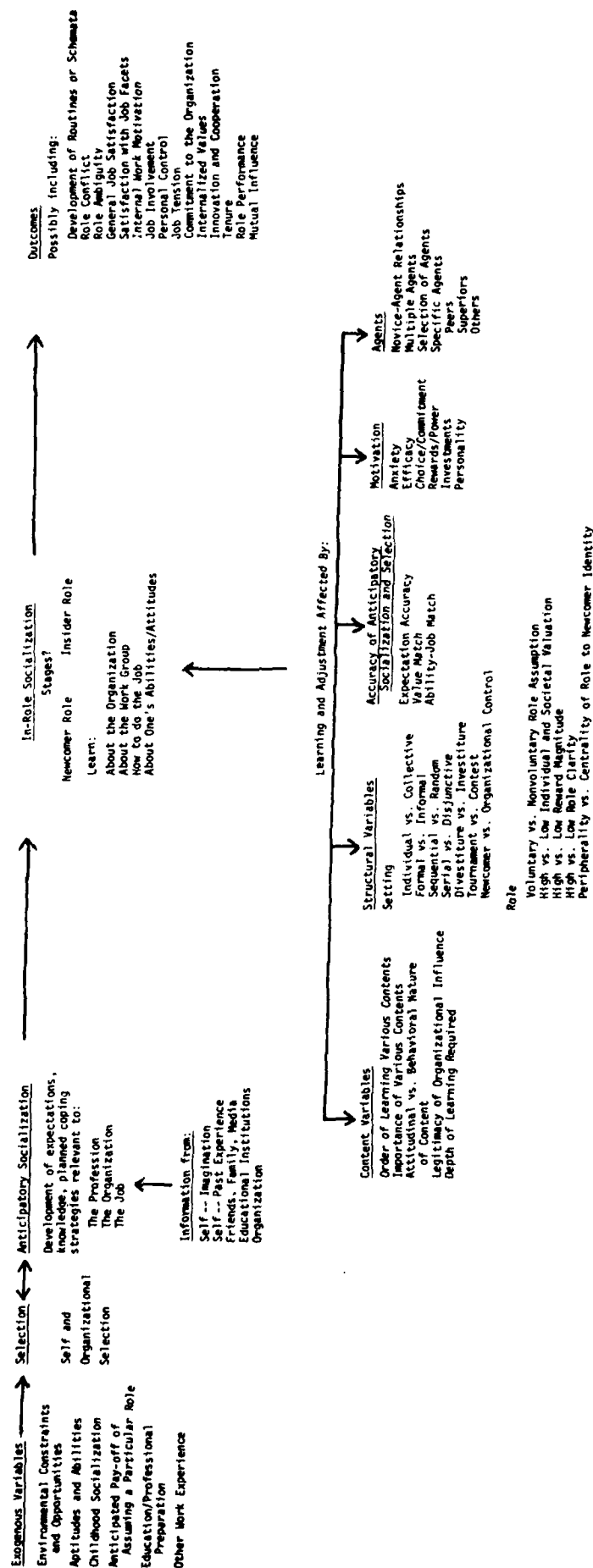
### Past Research

Organizational socialization is a topic which has stimulated a great deal of writing, but very little good research. Perhaps many people have felt qualified to write on the subject simply because they were once or twice socialized by an organization. While introspection is a useful source for ideas and hypotheses, it cannot suffice for the serious student of socialization. The research which has been done can be criticized on a number of grounds.

Samples. Criticism can be made of the samples used. Much of the research has dealt with jobs in the same few occupations: police, nurse, military recruit, and graduate student. Very few studies have examined more than one occupation, organization, or job title at the same time. This has

Figure 3

## Variables and Processes of Socialization



made it impossible to study many of the structural and other variables which are believed to be important, but which do not fluctuate much within an occupation, organization, or job title. Another problem with many samples is that they consist of individuals entering not just an organization, but also a profession or career field for the first time. Occupational and organizational socialization are thus confounded. Undeniably, this kind of transition is more dramatic and provides more for the researcher to study, but it is also necessary to study some settings in which more "pure" organizational socialization can be observed.

Designs. There are probably fewer than ten good, empirical, longitudinal studies of socialization in organizations. Since each of these studies looked at only a few variables, and none of the studies intentionally replicated each other, our store of reliable information is very small. Many of the variables in Figure 3 have not been researched at all, either well or poorly! However, the poor research certainly outnumbers the good research. The former consists of cross-sectional studies, often retrospective in nature, and subject to a great deal of response-response bias. This research is seldom guided by much theory, other than the occasional armchair "stage model", and rarely tests any clearly conceived or directional hypotheses.

There have been some excellent participant-observer studies conducted, largely by sociologists. These studies form a good basis for constructing theory, but not for vigorously testing it. While participant-observer studies may provide insights and a rich "feel" for the phenomenon under study, the accuracy of the human observer can always be questioned. Is an individual capable of accurately perceiving a correlation of .25 between variables under observation, or will a relationship of this magnitude be either inflated or not noticed?

Clearly, the existing research is desperately inadequate to unambiguously answer the many questions posed earlier in this review and in Figure 3. Organizational socialization is a field where a great deal more research is needed. Some suggestions for this research appear below.

#### Future Research

One major need is for future researchers to carefully plan where their efforts fit into the larger scheme of things. Research must necessarily focus on a limited number of independent variables at a time, but these should be chosen to represent an identifiable and important portion of the total socialization process. The Figure 3 we present need not be the integrating framework, but something like it is definitely needed to help organize and guide future research.

As suggested earlier, one of the first areas of socialization which should be investigated is the outcomes area. A clearer conceptualization of criteria must precede meaningful work on predictors and their inter-relationships. Specific suggestions for outcome research were made in the body of this paper.

Samples. Future samples should include not just individuals at the point of organizational and career entry for the first time, but also individuals changing employers with in the same profession, and individuals changing jobs within the same firm. The latter could be broken down into job changes within a site, and job changes requiring geographical relocation. "Transfers" require not just organizational re-socialization, but also socialization to a new community. Though transfers are common, research on them is scarce. In addition, a somewhat wider variety of occupations, organizations, job titles, and job levels should be sampled in future research. The results from all sample should not be expected to be identical, but rather to provide

meaningful variation needing to be explained. (Recall that Figure 1 suggests that somewhat different content is learned at different times for various job levels and job changes.) Those results which are replicable across samples will provide the basis for a general theory of organizational socialization.

Design. In the future, cross-sectional studies of the process of socialization should be used sparingly, and participant-observer studies should be used primarily as early pilot studies, in which to master jargon and be sure that all relevant variables are assessed in subsequent and more rigorous research. The greatest bulk of future research should be longitudinal in nature. The mortality problems associated with longitudinal research dictate that we begin with quite large samples, in order to end up several months or years later with a sufficient number of complete cases.

A variety of research strategies can be applied to the study of socialization. As suggested above, there will be some areas in which laboratory research will be productive; for example, to study the impact of a number of learners on rate of learning, under formal and informal training programs. Field surveys could be used for descriptive research, to find out what organizations actually do. For instance, to discover more about what content is perceived as a legitimate area for organizational influence (as did Schein and Ott, 1962), or to discover what structural socialization strategies actually are adopted by various types of organizations. Researchers should also look for opportunities to take advantage of naturally occurring field experiments. For example, both collective and individual socialization might occur in the same job during the year, if many newcomers are hired after May graduations, and few after December and August graduations. In addition, active intervention, manipulation, and control should also be used in field

settings whenever possible. Finally, for the well-heeled researcher, experimental simulations can be extremely productive for studying the first few days or weeks of in-role socialization, under a wide variety of manipulable conditions.

One final point concerns the type of data collected. Most researchers will probably choose to collect quantitative data. In this case, concern for the reliability and validity of measuring instruments is paramount. Other problems, such as common method variance in studies using questionnaires, must also be considered. However, some researchers should explore socialization by means of qualitative data. Responses to open-ended questions can be very enlightening, especially if summarized by content analysis or the more systematic "method of constant comparisons" developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

If these suggestions are followed, in ten years we will know much more about organizational socialization. We will eventually be able to tailor socialization programs to produce particular sets of desired outcomes, and to minimize the time and travail associated with becoming an organization member.

#### Footnotes

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Bethesda, MD 20014

Navy Medical R&D Command  
ATTN: Code 44  
National Naval Medical Center  
Bethesda, MD 20014

\*LIST 6/Naval Academy and Naval  
Postgraduate School

Naval Postgraduate School  
ATTN: Dr. Richard S. Elster  
Code 012  
Department of Administrative Sciences  
Monterey, CA 93940

Naval Postgraduate School  
ATTN: Professor John Senger  
Operations Research and  
Administrative Science  
Monterey, CA 93940

Superintendent  
Naval Postgraduate School  
Code 1424  
Monterey, CA 93940

Naval Postgraduate School  
ATTN: Dr. James Arima  
Code 54-Aa  
Monterey, CA 93940

Naval Postgraduate School  
ATTN: Dr. Richard A. McGonigal  
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Monterey, CA 93940

U.S. Naval Academy  
ATTN: CDR J. M. McGrath  
Department of Leadership and Law  
Annapolis, MD 21402

Professor Carson K. Eoyang  
Naval Postgraduate School, Code 54EG  
Department of Administration Sciences  
Monterey, CA 93940

Superintendent  
ATTN: Director of Research  
Naval Academy, U.S.  
Annapolis, MD 21402

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Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Detachment  
Naval Air Station  
Alameda, CA 94591

Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Detachment  
Naval Submarine Base New London  
P.O. Box 81  
Groton, CT 06340

\*LIST 7/HRM (continued)

Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Division  
Naval Air Station  
Mayport, FL 32228

Commanding Officer  
Human Resource Management Center  
Pearl Harbor, HI 96860

Commander in Chief  
Human Resource Management Division  
U.S. Pacific Fleet  
Pearl Harbor, HI 96860

Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Detachment  
Naval Base  
Charleston, SC 29408

Commanding Officer  
Human Resource Management School  
Naval Air Station Memphis  
Millington, TN 38054

Human Resource Management School  
Naval Air Station Memphis (96)  
Millington, TN 38054

Commanding Officer  
Human Resource Management Center  
1300 Wilson Boulevard  
Arlington, VA 22209

Commanding Officer  
Human Resource Management Center  
5621-23 Tidewater Drive  
Norfolk, VA 23511

Commander in Chief  
Human Resource Management Division  
U.S. Atlantic Fleet  
Norfolk, VA 23511

Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Detachment  
Naval Air Station Whidbey Island  
Oak Harbor, WA 98278

Commanding Officer  
Human Resource Management Center  
Box 23  
FPO New York 09510

Commander in Chief  
Human Resource Management Division  
U.S. Naval Force Europe  
FPO New York 09510

\*LIST 7/IBM (continued)

Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Detachment  
Box 60  
FPO San Francisco 96651

Officer in Charge  
Human Resource Management Detachment  
COMNAVFORJAPAN  
FPO Seattle 98762

\*LIST 8/Navy Miscellaneous

Naval Military Personnel Command  
HRM Department (NMPC-6)  
Washington, D.C. 20350 (2 copies)

Naval Training Analysis and  
Evaluation Group  
Orlando, FL 32813

Commanding Officer  
ATTN: TIC, Bldg 2068  
Naval Training Equipment Center  
Orlando, FL 32813

Chief of Naval Education and  
Training (N-5)  
Director, Research Development,  
Test and Evaluation  
Naval Air Station  
Pensacola, FL 32508

Chief of Naval Technical Training  
ATTN: Dr. Norman Kerr, Code 017  
NAS Memphis (75)  
Millington, TN 38054

Navy Recruiting Command  
Head, Research and Analysis Branch  
Code 434, Room 8001  
801 North Randolph Street  
Arlington, VA 22203

Commanding Officer  
USS Carl Vinson (CVN-70)  
Newport News Shipbuilding &  
Drydock Company  
Newport News, VA 23607

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Washington, D.C. 20380

Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps  
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Education Advisor  
Education Center (E031)  
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Quantico, VA 22134

Commanding Officer  
Education Center (E031)  
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Commanding Officer  
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Dr. Brian Usilaner  
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National Institute of Education  
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National Institute of Mental Health  
Minority Group Mental Health Programs  
Room 7 - 102  
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Rockville, MD 20852

Office of Personnel Management  
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Research Management Division  
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Social and Development Psychology  
Program  
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Technical Director  
Army Research Institute  
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Alexandria, VA 22333

Director  
Systems Research Laboratory  
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Alexandria, VA 22333

Director  
Army Research Institute  
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Air University Library/LSE 76-443  
Maxwell AFB, AL 36112

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